

THE 22
Grand Concernments
OF
ENGLAND
ENSURED:

Viz. { *Liberty of Conscience,* } *Sovereign Powers of Parliaments,*
 { *Extirpation of Popery,* } *Reformation of Religion,*
 { *Defence of Property,* } *Laws and Liberties,*
 { *Easing of Taxes,* } *Indemnity,*
 { *Advance of Trade,* } *Settlement,*

By a constant Succession of Free Parliaments,
 the only possible Expedient to preserve us
 from *Ruine or Slavery*. The *Objections answered*,
 But more largely, that of a SENATE.

With a Sad *EXPOSTULATION*,
 and some *smart Rebukes* to the
 A R M Y.

Quæ Rerum nunc geritur in Anglia?

Edinburgh, Re-printed, Anno Dom. 1659.

15

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1877

1

1

1



TO THE
R E A D E R.

R E A D E R,

I*f thou art prejudicate, save thy purse and thy pains; 'tis the considerate man, he that ponders his wayes, I had rather deal with: I promise thee thus much, I have no designe to seduce thee, but whatsoever I have written, is my very thought: It may be thou art perswaded thou mayest better imploy thy time in Reading; I believe no lesse; however, thou shalt finde some things here, not altogether unworthy of Consideration. I am well assured,*

and

A 3

I

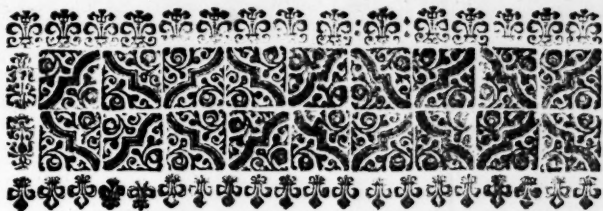
TO THE READER.

I can never please all; nor hath it been my study, to please any, and yet willingly I displease none. It may be, the first sheet may go for waste paper, but I hope the rest will make some part of amends: I had some thoughts of wholly omitting that part of the Discourse, but am perswaded not to conceal the grounds of my adventure: The work hath been under my hands too long, but at first was mostly designed in Answer to a Paper, Entituled, The Interest of England Stated; and was well nigh finished, so much of it as I then intended; but finding myself cast behind by a swifter pen, which did not run in vain, I laid it aside, being overpressed by much business; but after a while finding some little leisure, and my thoughts multiplying upon me, it hath sweld under me beyond my intention. I have cut short that work I first began, that thou mayest be staid
but

TO THE READER.

but little from what since fell in; which I make publique, not expecting it should yeeld me much credit, but hoping it may turn to some publique benefit. If I am counted besides my self to walk in Print, it is for my Countries sake. This I am bold to say, If some Pens had the Managing of many Matters herein contained, and would do their best, the Nation could not think the pains ill bestowed. For the Errata's of the Presse I passe not much; if I scape thy lash for what I have written, I will stand to thy courtesie for what the Printer hath mistaken; only desire thee to take notice, that the four first sheets were printed before this our Mad Change. Farewell.

1871
The first of the year
was a very cold one
and the snow lay
on the ground for
several days.
The weather was
very disagreeable
and the people
were much
convinced that
the winter was
very severe.
The snow lay
on the ground
for several days
and the weather
was very cold.
The people were
much convinced
that the winter
was very severe.
The snow lay
on the ground
for several days
and the weather
was very cold.
The people were
much convinced
that the winter
was very severe.



T H E
Grand Concernments
O F
E N G L A N D
E N S U R E D.



While since there came to my hands two sheets of Paper, under this Inscription, *The Interest of England stated* — Promising a faithfull account of the Aims of all Parties, now pretending, with their Effects in respect of themselves, of one another, and the Publick; offering an Expedient for the composure of the respective Differences, to the Security and Advantage, not only of every single Interest, but to the bringing solid lasting Peace unto the Nation — Matters that I am very solicitous about; which easily perswaded me to look into it. In the perusal, I found the hand was the hand of Esau, though the voice (or Title Page) was the voice of Jacob: and though here and there, he salutes all Parties with — *All hail, Sirs.— and falls on their necks, and kisseth them*; yet 'tis but to get the closer advantage of some, that he may strike them to the heart, or at least may smite them in their hinder parts: and he layeth about so furiously, that none escape his Ven-

geance but the *Cavaliers*, his only *white boyes* ; which makes me believe, the man hath some wit in his anger, and knows what he doth when he drinks ; else I should have concluded the man had been mad, to make himself the Umpire of our Differences ; while he conjures all Parties, to put their necks under their feet, who will shew their teeth when they cannot bite : one would think he should have given better words, if he would have led us into a fools Paradise ; Is it not a great piece of confidence, to perswade men to come under their yoke, the most courteous of whom (for such no doubt this Reconciler would be thought) though they be yet upon their good behaviour, by the clemency of the Conquerours, think it their virtue, to spir their venom in our very faces ? we shall guesse what quarter is to be expected, when you become our Lords, 'Tis (no doubt) a most plausible way to provoke these Parties, to an Overture for Agreement, as is pretended ; while you bespeak them in such friendly language as this : *'Tis the aim of the Army to Govern the Nation, To keep themselves from being Disbanded, or engaged in War. 'Tis the wish of the Parliament to continue themselves in absolute Power, by the specious name of a Popular Government ; to new model and divide, and at last take down the Army : and, under pretence of a Council of State, to set up an Oligarchy resembling the Thirty Tyrants of Athens : That it is, and alwayes will be, their interest to pull down the Army : That the primary end of the Parliament, is to destroy and overthrow the very Constitution of Parliaments : That the mutual ruine of the Parliament and Army must needs be necessary for the support of neither. That the Anabaptists design are, to ruine all other Professions of Religion, to destroy Property, founding it in Grace and Samship : That the late Protector was of no worth nor credit, of whom any this comparative commendation can be given, That he is not so very a Bruis as his Brother * : That the pretensions of his Interest are low, odious, and ridiculous, that they have been false to one another, and their best friends : That from under Presbytery have grown up such as utterly oppose all Government in the Church, the being and support of the Ministerial Function, and that the rigid yoke of the Presbyterians is such, as this Nation will not endure ; which his late Majesty was well aware of, when he conceded for setting it up for three years, being fully satisfied how effectually an Argument the experience of that short time would be to perswade the Nation to endure that galling and heavy yoke no longer.*

The premises considered, it is not hard to conclude how these Parties stand in his esteem ; (yea, it being manifestly his interest at this time, to conceal his malignity, and dissemble a good will towards them, and yet in spite of his guts his malice gets out) I say, there is little doubt, but this moderate Gentleman himself (as most of his party) account them Beasts of Prey, and not of Game, such

as

*Lieut.
General
Fleet-
wood.

as should have no Law given them, or kept with them; but any one may knock on the head, and destroy by any method: and what ever terms are offered to draw them in, serve only as Traps baited with Chickens, to catch *Weefels* and *Pelcats*: That killing them is no Murder; that they ought to be driven out of their houses and Synagogues, and whosoever kills them doth God good service. Tis ealie to see into the mystery of this Pamphleter, under the specious pretence of a Moderator, to render all parties that ever opposed his Master, as odious as possible to the Nation, and to one another; and thereby involve them into as good an esteem of one another, as he hath of them, viz. into a mortal hatred of one another, and so oblige them to do that for the *Cavaliers*, which himself confesseth impossible they should do for themselves; which wrought with a powder of late, and had dispatcht his business, but that a desperate or violent remedy was timely applied, which spoiled the sport: But I shall take a more particular account of this Reconciler (though not so largely as I had prepared it, finding my self prevented by another pen, knowing men care but little to read the same thing twice over) and shall observe whether he deserve to be so well received as he pretends, that there should need no Rhetorical inducements to it; which I should not think much worth my labour, but that men, yea, very honest men, are too too apt to be surpris'd with every Overture for selling this distracted State, and I fear many have unwarily sucked in the poyson of this Pamphlet (the Presse having gon twice upon it) who of late years were no very ill willers to the Parliaments cause; who had they certain knowledge (as it is unhappily presumed) that *Mercurius Aulicus* the old *Oxford* Gazetter was the Father of this Brat; would go neer upon second thoughts, as much to suspect his expedient of a Cheat, as formerly they were confirm'd of the falshood of his Intelligence; and a little patience will give you as good assurance of the one, as your experience hath given you certainty of the other. But his old friend *M. Politicus* is fallen upon his jacket, though under a disguise, I shall spare him therefore many a knock, that I had lifted up my hand to reach unto him. He begins with telling what he esteems the designs of all parties pretending: *The Roman Catholicks* design, saith he, is to introduce the *Papacy*, and utterly to eradicate all he calls *Heresie*—Very good. That is the *Royalists* desire to bring in the King a Conqueror, to recover their losses in the late War, and to have the former Government of the Church — (as if this man were no Royalist) we make no doubt of what he sayes, it were strange they should belie themselves. He goes on, and tels the desire of the *Presbyterian*, *Baptized Churches*, *Army*, and *Parliament*, is to set up themselves, and to exclude all others: It seems then they are all alike peccant; and no marvel, for without peradventure, they are much at one dear and precious to him: for if

any of them are more than other the objects of his fury, it is because they stand more in his way. After he hath told us what he thinks to be the interest of the Nation, he goes on and affirms, *That the designs of the Papists are not feasible: That the Royalists aim is not attainable*; and the like he saith, one after another, of all the rest: so raising up to himself a man of Clouts, he knocks him down in the same breath; when stating their Interests and Designs, as he hath done (wherein he hath only dealt fairly with the two foremost) it is mine, as do doubt it is every honest mans Prayer, as well as this good mans Prophesie, that they may be without effect: but we believe not the more, what he saith, because he saith it, of those that he most malignes: He resolves at length, *That the pretensions of no party now on foot are attainable, ('tis strange there should want pretenders of his own kidney) or if attained, are consistent with the good of the Nation, or of other parties, and that the ruine of the Publick is inevitable, there being no door of hope open* (but that to which he is turn-key) *no method visible to unite so distant and incompatible ends*: and presently through this great croud of Pretenders, with no little circumstance, he makes room for a contrivance that shall do the work; against which but one Objection in all the world can be raised, and that as easily razed; and this he introduceth as if himself were the Father of those that handle this Harp and Organ, as if all the forementioned interests had never dreamt on't: to which I think some that are mentioned before, may claim a right by virtue of first discovery, but he thinks fit to forget it in their Character, not meaning to advance their merit above the rest, which I must needs say is not fair dealing that he should spoil them of that, he himself produceth as the only infallible means of Settlement (when 'tis apparent as the Sun at noon whose was the invention) and give them nothing in their description but what himself impresseth the marks of Folly and Tyranny upon. His Proposition he makes no doubt to pronounce in these plain termes, — *The calling in the King is the certain and only means for the preservation of the Kingdom, and also of the Rights and Interests of all single persons in it.* I hope the Reader will expect this be well proved: To drive this Nail to the head; having before used his best wits, to persuade of the indispensable necessity of this expedient, by rendering any other endeavours for a Settlement fruitlesse, and so unavoidable ruine consequent: and having stated the pretensions of all parties, so as might most render them at his mercy, he makes no bones as occasion serves to calumniate and traduce, say and unsay, fawn and dissemble; one while he tels you of the gallantry of the Army, and their excellent discipline; that they have still owned a Publick Spirit; that every Common Souldier knows how to direct as well as to obey, to judge no lesse then execute. Elsewhere, *That it is their design to Govern the Na-*

tion themselves, to keep from being disbanded, &c. One while, *That the differences between the Episcopal and Presbyterian, are easily atoned* and in the same breath, *That from under them have grown up those that utterly oppose all Government in the Church, &c.* And elsewhere, *That Presbytery is intolerable, a galling and heavy yoke, &c.* Now he tells us, *That the Parliament designs to set up an Oligarchy, resembling the Thirty Tyrants of Athens.* And by and by tells us, *That the Petition of July the 6. was penned by themselves, and after by themselves addressed to themselves, for which they themselves give themselves hearty thanks.* And yet this Petition in exprest Terms as directly contrary to an Oligarchy, or the continuance of any men in Power, as it is possible to be Worded: surely the man is wondrous forgetful, or very malicious: But a Lyar had need have a good memory. I doubt a little, Whether we are under such necessity as he pretends, since he useth such Artifices to reduce us to other extremities? It is not for nothing that he turns Mutineer, and would create jealousies between the Parliament and Army; nor doubting if he could effect that, he might bring in his King upon what terms he pleased: tis therefore that they must believe that the security of the one, is founded in the ruine of the other. Tis for no other reason that he tells the Army, *They have been ill requited for their good services, by being stoppt in Pay, defeated of their Arrears, in danger of Disbanding, nor suffered to communicate Councils or meet at a General Rendezvous, That their recompence for their greatest merits, have been only exposing to new, and greater dangers: That their certainest pay hath been suspicion, affronts, and injuries.* Let any sober and impartial man judge at the drift of this Gentleman; specially let not the Army misunderstand him, who while he is perswading might and main for an agreement, doth what in him lies to break us to pieces, and render us incapable of defending our lives. Having then dispatched a great part of his work, viz. Shewn our undone condition, which he hath Prophesied, not Proved, and ushered in his expedient as you have seen; his next work is to apply his Playster to the Wounds he had made: He begins with the common National interest, and pretends to accommodate his expedient to all its distempers, wherein he thinks a bare assertion, to be sufficient Demonstration; goes on like an Emperick, or States Mountebank, telling this it is good for, that it is good for, wherein if I should follow him, I should lose myself and my Reader too; but I shall give him a turn by and by: however, this is very observable, that he layes much stress upon the merits of his King, being it seems the best reason in his Budget to commend him to the Nation: but Needham hath galled him so severely on this wing, that I shall make no stay here, but put on full speed to the main Battel, taking only a slight view of some inconsiderable forces that

way lay me, which I shall soon break thorough.

First he tells, *It is the interest of the Roman Catholick to bring in the King*; for, saith he, by this means the heavy payments now on their Estates, with other burdens, will be taken off; and as to the pressures of Penal Laws, they cannot but remember how far from grievous they were in the late Kings time, the Catholicks living here notwithstanding them, in more flourishing condition then they of Italy, France, or Spain, under their respective Princes; and would do infinitely more under their natural King, then if any forainer should acquire the power by conquest: Besides having generally adhered to the late King in his Wars, have no reason to distrust, finding favourable treatment from his Son, and to shew that indulgence, he is ready to afford even his greatest enemies. And yet these are the men, that our Author tells us before would restore the Pope his ancient Revenue and Jurisdiction in England; and to the Church all that was alienated in Hen. 8. time, and would utterly eradicate all he calls Heresie: so far you are right; we doubt not they will get better terms then the poor Presbyters.

Secondly, *It is the interest of the Royalists, &c.* Yea it is so, although he have no reparation for his losses: I cannot passe this without a smile, our Author tells us before, *That it is the design of the Royalist to bring in the King a Conquerour, and to recover his losses in the late War*; and in the very next leaf he tells us, *That he is confident the Cavaliers expect no satisfaction at all*: It seems then tis their interest though they have no satisfaction, I leave them this as a bone to pick; in the mean time I want an Interpreter of this mystery, *The design of the Royalist is to recover his losses in the late War*,—*I am confident the Cavaliers expect no satisfaction at all*—Very well bowled in good earnest, they will and they won't, *Anglice*—good skill why, all the craft is in catching.

Thirdly, *The Presbyterians are concerned also.* As how? for example, to leap out of the Frying pan into the fire; for fear of those lesser parties, to prostrate themselves unto the revenge of a *Pontifical zeal*: what courtesie is to be expected at their Graces hands, Mr. Pryn is yet a memorable example of; but the Presbyterians do not consult him as their Oracle (for all your halt) he having born his witness with sufficient bitterness against them, enough almost to unchristian any man but himself.

Fourthly, *It is the interest of the Baptized Churches—as also to acquiesce in a Moderate Episcopacy, enjoying the liberty of their consciences.* I wonder how this shall become practicable, or sort with the honour of Episcopacy (which he throws in the dish of Presbytery) to suffer those lesser parties (as he calls them) to grow up with it, who utterly oppose all Government in the Church, and being of the Ministry. No doubt your knowledge of the practices of the *Anabaptists* in

in *Germany*, their cruelty and all manner of disorder, their taking away all property of Estates, founding it in Grace and Saintship; with the hard treatment of the *Papists* in *Ireland* have found from them (these are his own words) will instruct you into some pretences, why you ought to be more partial in your affections towards them, and your better Sons of the Church, then why a Father should be tend of one Son, and discourage another, upon pretence of their diverse hairs or complexions, which our Author would willingly skrew into their belief; but it will not be.

Fifthly, *It is* (saith he) *the interest of the Army*. Under this head he grows out of measure copious; but the wonder is not so much, since here lies his work, to bring the Army into disorder; *'Tis their concernment to be under a single person*, and consequently to be under his King: he proves it thus, *Because there is scarce a Common Souldier who is not sensible of it*: Verily this is a notable Demonstration; the whole Army is sensible that they are concerned to be under a Single Person; therefore not long since they restored our Commonwealth, and declared unanimously against a Single Person, without so much as any muttering among the Common Souldiers to the contrary; and since all their Commanders have given up their old Commissions, and received new from the Parliament. Our Author is in very deed a notable Sophister, he goes on and tels, *By this means* (the Army putting themselves under the Standard of his King) *they shall be out of danger of being Disbanded, and without fear of Wars*: Very good arguments to Souldiers, to be afraid of enemies; but better to Christians, that when the danger is over, they should refuse to disband: Shall we know our friends from our foes, Gentlemen? What are they who kill our honours and good names, while they court our friendship? But in the progresse take notice, how much the calling in his King will answer the expectations of some, while he promiseth to keep the Army up, notwithstanding the dangers will be over; and for this end the King is the only person to raise Taxes and Contributions; they are his own words. He goes on to tell, *tho only can secure their Pay, and satisfie their Arrears*; very good Sir, but I hope you will make no scruple to pay us in our own coin. He proceeds—*No body else dare trust you as a standing body*; and endeavoureth to exasperate the Army from the treatment they received from the old Protector.—But I conceive he was a single person: Ay, but his King being supported by his just title, hath no such grounds of suspicion, but may repose himself upon the loyalty of his people, which Usurpers dare not do. How now Sir, this is strange forgetfulness; remember the late King, I hope you deem him no Usurper; and would you perswade that the Son would repose himself upon that Army that hath opposed him and his Father with blood, when the Father put so little confidence in his Parliament? methinks

thinks his King should con him little thanks, for this unhappy distinction between a prince with a just title, and an Usurper. More yet,-- His King *hath a particular respect for the Army; yea, in spite of all their Rebellious*. A strong argument in good sooth. Oh strange! that they should not envie any other the honour of being commanded by such a Prince, who is the only expedient upon earth to render them and the ir posterity happy; I shall end this by inverting the force of his own Conclusion, and turning its point upon himself: Were this directed to the *Spanish* or *French* Infantry, those Venal souls that understand nothing but Pay and Plunder; these arguments of Pay, and keeping themselves from being disbanded, would paste their Pikes and be well received; but the *English* Army, that have still owned a Publique Spirit, where every common man knows how to judge as well as execute, will not fail to steer themselves as prudence shall instruct: Whoever hath conversed with my Author, will finde I observe his own phrases, and I assure you I am not a little delighted in his style.

Lastly, *It is the interest of the Protectors party and the Parliament, to call in his King*. He is in great haste I see, his wilde fire being nigh spent, else he would still have maintained the distance he had been forming between these two before, which he had twice treated of distinctly, and not have joyned them together at last, but he cannot part them; I will leave them (as he hath brought them) together, to think whether they are so nearly concerned to jump in this Gentlemans judgement as he would have them imagine.

I have been forced to mispend some time in picquering with small Forces that were ambushed to intercept me, but have moved with as much speed as I could, securing such passes as might seem of any advantage to the Enemy, that I might not be surpris'd in the Rear: I shall burn no more daylight, but fall in with him pell-mell, and as plainly deny what he hath as peremptorily asserted, and do say,

That the calling in the late Kings Son,
is neither a certain, nor yet probable means,
much lesse the only means, for preservation
of the Nation, and the Rights and
Interests thereof.

I shall think I have well acquitted my self of this undertaking, when
I have done two things:

First

First, Evidenced it, *That the calling in the late Kings Son is directly against the Common Nationall Interest*, in severall particulars, whereby it will also appear to be *against the Rights and Interests of most single persons in it.*

Secondly, When I have exhibited another expedient that shall do the work.

For the first, *The common National Interests* (for I owne no particular interest at variance herewith;) that I shall mention are such as these;

First, *Liberty of Conscience.* It is the common interest of the Nation to be secure, that they may, without disturbance, worship God according to their consciences, while they destroy not the Doctrines or life of Christianity, and live peaceably in the State: this our Author concedes with a greater latitude than I propound it, whether in jest or in earnest, or between both, matters not much; saying, *So all agree in Loyalty, though they differ in other matters;* There is no reason why they should not all be alike dear unto their Prince, their differences being of no more consideration, than the complexion of Children to their Father. The Episcopal party claim this as their right, and think it hard usage if at any time they are forbidden publick Assemblies upon *Christmas* day, and other good times; or are forbidden to read the Common Prayer Book in their Churches; and really, if no body were wiser than I, they should have no cause given them to be angry at it, so they would neither directly nor indirectly promote Sedition against the Government. The Presbyterians would cry out of Oppression, if they should be bound to Surplices and such like Crotchets; to read Common-Prayer, or be lorded over by Metropolitan Bishops, to do reverence to Altars, or bow at the Name of JESUS; to observe Saints Holy-dayes, to keep *Lent*; in a word, to have any thing imposed on their consciences. The Independent must not be confined to his Parish Church, or be determined by the Judgements of Neighbour Churches; nor have the liberty of expounding Scripture by a Lay-brother be denied. These, and some others (every one for themselves) claim this privilege, of a Free-born man, accounting it slavish to be imposed upon in matters of Religion; and if I would be indulged my self, and hold it my right as a man and a Christian, to be at liberty to serve God, according to what I know of his Will in his Word; Why should we set at naught our Brother? Why should we grudge that to him, that we claim for our selves? That every one claimeth this as his right and interest is out of doubt; yea, that they who would deny it to others, think themselves wronged to be without it themselves, and would dispute it with the hazard of their lives, rather than this Liberty should be infringed, is evident to every mans experience. That hence

it is become (though no other reason could be assigned for it) the common interest of the Nation, without which no quietness can be thought of, that so many as fear God, and are found in the substantials of Christianity, howsoever they may differ in those things that the Scriptures are not so expresse and clear in, and in modes and forms of Worship and Discipline; that such should be suffered without any discountenance or disturbance, is as little to be had in question. Whether the calling in the late Kings Son be a probable means for the salving this difficulty, is not hard to resolve; that his affection, if not his interest, is so linked with the *Episcopal* and *Romish* party, as to give small encouragement to any other of Toleration, is so much to be presumed, that few words are wanting to assure it: 'Tis not the Solemn League and Covenant, nor all the marks of Conversion, which he manifested to his Subjects of the *Blue Bonnet*, that can wash him clean. Pray, who are his Champions and Confessors now? Who are they that have assisted his Father and him, that have blown their Trumpets for him, prayed, preached, plotted, been undone for him? Who are they that have lost Bishopsricks, Deanaries, and half a dozen fat Parsonages for him? who scorn to backslide, but continue fast friends and eager zealots for him, who told his Father formerly what it would come to; these whining Puritans will undo all: these he must needs consult with as his Oracle, and be governed by their counsel in all affairs: Is it probable he should settle any other Government in the Church but *Episcopacy*, or suffer any Non-conformists but the *Papists*? Yes, but the *Presbyterians* have expiated their sin, they shall have what they please indulged to them; it may be some may be so good-natured men as to believe this, but I know many of that judgment that differ from this persuasion. Who doubts but *Episcopacy* and *Presbyterie* will agree better together when there happeneth a Settlement, and *Episcopacy* returns unto its former glory; 'Tis well conjectured, they that can hardly give one another a good word now, will be honourably treated by each other, when either shall get the Chair: And, no doubt, the *Royalists* did lately hope well for the return of the Lawn Sleeves; which when it shall happen, if an honest *Presbyter* dare deny the body and blood of Christ to any one that would be counted a Christian, he may in requital deny him his Tithes; ask Mr. *Pryn* if this be not Law. Yes, but his King being supported by so good a title, need not cajol and fool any one Faction. O rare! pray who have been the Favourites all along? No Bishop, no King; good reason it seems to curry favour with them. Yes; but his Majesty knows it to be his interest, to grant *Liberty of Consciences* Well, be it so, by this means the greatest sinners will escape best; such a Liberty as was formerly connived at, when a *Pelagian*, or an *Anti-sabbatarian* might get to the top of preferment, and be able to confront a poor *Turtian*. To say the truth of them, if a man could

do as they did, he might believe what he pleased: It was not so much an error in the Fundamentals of Religion, as a scrupulousness about the Mint and Cummin of their Traditions that dubb'd a man an Heretick. Yea, but to kill all at a blow, His Majesty will gentle *Presbytery* and reserve liberty for the rest, and there is very good assurance of it. This is more indeed than my Author promiseth, who yet offers more then he can ever make good but can he do this with honour, and without regrave, leave his old friends to be glad of being pitifull poor Parsons or Country Vicars, when every one of them have deserved at least a Bishoprick; can any body suspect his affections of so great abatement towards Episcopacy, as to put their necks under the feet of *Presbytery*; this were an ill requital of their Loyalty, who deserve to be head and not the tail. Yea, but suppose all that can be supposed, which we may chuse whether we will believe or nor, that the Episcopacy should so much deny themselves, as to take up this Crosse to follow his Majesties interest, and be content to be any thing or nothing, so he may come to Rule whose right it is, as some have ill applied it, and his Majesty should so far forget himself as to suffer it to be so for a while, yet I know what I know; bark what saith our Author, and then guesse at the security. *Besides that, Presbytery must be the overthrow of all other parties (which is as true of Episcopacy, saving alwayes the interest of the Papist) which are more considerable in the Nation then themselves, that rigid Government no wayes complies with the genius of this Nation, or the frame of our Municipal Laws, which the late King was well aware of, when he conceded to the setting it up for three years, being fully satisfied how effectual an argument the experience of that short time would be, to perswade the Nation to endure that galling and heavy yoke no longer. The application is easie. Three years would finish the course of Presbytery, and for those lesser parties that have grown up under it, the rise of Presbytery must needs overthrow them. And so much for Liberty of conscience.*

Secondly, *Tis the common National interest to discountenance, and if possible to extirpate Popery.* Whether my Antagonist ownes this as a National interest, is clear in the Negative, however, most of us, especially those that adhered to the Parliament, have miserably forgot our selves if we renounce it. Tis almost in every mouth, *the Papist, the Jesuit undo us*; these cannot claim the benefit of toleration, being the bane of any Protestant Nation; the Vipers that gnaw out the guts of their dam, that require their protection, with endeavouring the destruction of their Benefactors: of these, that saying is most true, *Save a Thief from the Gallows, and he will cut your throat*; and no wonder, since their Religion teacheth them, *they that kill an Heretick do God good service*: To this purpose they use all artifices imaginable to distract and disquiet a Nation, when they cannot cope

C a

with

with it by force, and dare not break out into Rebellion, or attempt a general Massacre, which they make no more bones of, then cutting off a dogs head; witness the miserable Protestants of *Ireland*, which our Author hath so much forgot, that he laments the hard treatment the Papists in *Ireland* have found; A restless generation they are, and will be always endeavouring to introduce their Religion, and subject us to the Bishop of *Rome*, and utterly to extirpate all that they call Heresie. This design is going now amongst us (as in other Nations) by creating and fomenting differences among all that are called Protestant, hoping still to engage us one against another, till they rise upon our ruines: To them Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Independency, &c. are one and the same thing: between whom they believe not so dreadful a difference, as we are made to think among our selves: we may be wiser one day. It is then become our National interest to suppress, and if possible to extirpate Popery, thereby to secure the Nation from threatened and impending ruine: Whether the calling in the late Kings Son be a probable redress of this grievance, deserves to be so little a matter of discourse, that I shall resolve it in the very words of my Author, *It is the interest of the Roman Catholick to call in the King; for by that means the heavy payments now on their Estates, with other burdens, will be taken off; and as to the pressures of Penal Laws, they cannot but remember how far from grievous they were in the late Kings time, the Catholicks living here notwithstanding them, in more flourishing condition then they of Italy, France or Spain, under their respective Princes; and would do infinitely more under their natural King, then if any forainer should acquire the power by conquest: Besides, having generally adhered to the late King in his Wars, have no reasons to distrust, the finding favorable treatment from his Son, and to share in that indulgence, he is ready to afford even his greatest enemies — i. e. such are Presbyterians and Independents — this is Authehtick: Yea, and besides all this, who can tell he hath not suck'd in some of his Mothers milk.*

Thirdly, *The defence of Property is the common interest of the Nation.* I will not mispend a word to prove this, least I should reproach my Countrey-men of so much easiness, as ignorance of such a fundamental in reason as this, *Whether Property be in danger of being invaded by the calling in the late Kings Son,* is more worthy of our enquiry: How many purchasers are there of Bishops Lands, Dean and Chapters Lands, Delinquents Lands, and Crown Lands, whose Fee-simple would be no very wise title, but much worse then Tenure in Villenage; let any man of reason imagine: this will not only concern Roundheads, but many who in other matters are at no great distance with Episcopacy have their hands full of them, they being bought and sold over and over, many to whose hands this will come, will no doubt be sufficiently sensible

sensible hereof: that these are alienated upon as good (if no better) reason, then were the Abby Lands, &c. in *Hen. 8.* time: none that were the first buyers had I believe any jealousy to the contrary, nor hath any man any thing material to object against it: King and Delinquents Lands were justly forfeited for raising and levying War upon the Parliament: the Bishops Lands, because those men involved us into those Distractions, and abetted and adhered unto that party, and drove the Chariot of the Church so furiously, that they were like to overthrow all, wherefore the State found it good prudence to take down their mettle, by making better use of their Lands to satisfy publick debts, and so to leave them disabled for the future to disturb our peace, which if their Lands had been reserved, they would have been always attempting to recover, and therewith the Government of Church and State too: the other Church lands went in company to help pay debts, being exposed to forfeiture by the general malignancy of the incumbents, besides were of no other signification then to maintain a company of lazy Lubbers: the Nation is hereby generally concerned to secure them their purchases, as those were secured and untouched in *Hen. 8.* time: that Queen *Mary* could do the Pope no courtesie in the former, my Author denies not, that if any should go about to attempt the latter, it would cost him hot water, I do most willingly believe; however, as the one was attempted, so most certainly would the other, and with much more violence, the temptation being now far greater, since he must be a sorry King that hath lost his Estate, Queen *Mary* was not altogether so nearly concerned: Is it imaginable when he shall return King of these Nations, he will endure to see the Crown Lands fallen into the fingers of *John an Oakes*, and *John a Stiles*, himself King of England and not a foot of Land, could he say, *Soul, take thine ease*, while those Loyal hearts that followed him through thick and thin, *in peril at Land, in peril at Sea*, remain fleeced of thousands, and some it may be of ten thousands per annum, all the Church Lands gone, and nothing left to oblige those props of Prerogative, would this give his Majesty a competent satisfaction to sit down, and let it rest thus? I trow not: How can he look upon himself as other then a burden to his Countrey, if he must live upon the Charity of well disposed people, such too would be the case of his Sequestered adherents, and could this comport with the honour of his Majesty? could he see his Bishops, Deans and Chapters thus brought to desolation, so far from having their kingdom in this world, that they should have scarce a hole to put their head in, and would not this be a hard Chapter? Could he look upon himself under the first consideration, and believe he were, *The high and mighty Prince CHARLES King of England, Scotland &c.* or under the second, and not think he had lost the Crown of his Crown; could he believe himself Defender of the faith, It is come to this issue, *Either Purchasers must be robbed of their Estates,*

for which some of them have paid dear enough, and ready money: or he must live upon a general Contribution: which latter I have so honorable thoughts of him, as to believe he would not endure: the former would be dishonest, the latter ignoble: the former would be an oppression, the ruine of many; the latter an intolerable burden upon all. How well then they will befriend him, that shall put him upon this Dilemma, let our adversaries themselves be the judges. Besides, no body knows how many new Delinquents must be made; it would be no easie matter to perswade every man that hath adhered to the Parliament, that their Estates should be so much their own, as at the pleasure of Prerogative; yea, should the strongest obligations imaginable be fastned on him, to bind up his hands from doing these Roundheads, and Puritans harme; yet would they hardly bind Him and his Heirs for ever. Whence must come those rewards that our Author promiseth they shall be sure to find that have served him in any kinde, especially they that are instrumental in his restitution. Certainly want of money, which he must needs be reduced unto, to gratifie them, being abundance, almost innumerable swarms of crawling, croaking, creeping things that helped to undo his Father and him in the late Wars, will make invincible necessity good reason of State for some arbitrary proceedings; and then this decayed threeabare Cautier will beg that Roundheaded dog for a Ward, and that beggerly Cavalier will beg this Puritan; that Presbyterian, the other Independent, or Anabaptist for a fool; and verily, I would have them beg wall for fools when we have no more wit. And however he may be engaged to forgive us, yet can hardly be obliged to forget us, we shall be as bad as bound to our good behaviour: it must needs be enough (being added to our former transgression) to entitle us to beggery, if not to the Gallows, to pisse against a Church wall. The Cavaliers that cannot contain themselves from looking us through and through, and cursing us to our faces, while they are scarce yet in so good condition as to call it a State Militant, will make no great trouble of it when they arrive at their State Triumphant, to pick a whole in our Coats, that they may pick our pockets, and it is wonderful if they do not pick out our eyes. We should soon be reduced to no better condition then that of *Shimei*, *Go dwell in yonder place, and stir not thence; and if it shall be sold, saying, He is gone to bring back a run-away servant, or to seek an Ox or an Ass that was gone astray* (yea, it may be, though it were but a say: so, yet) *his blood must be upon his head, and it would be rounded in our ears, Thou knowest all the wickedness thy heart is privie to, that thou didst to my Father; therefore the Lord doth return thy wickedness upon thine own head.*

Fourthly, *Tis the common interest of the Nation to be eased of Taxes.* To this I think no body will say nay. That the bringing in the late Kings Son is a hopeful remedy for the disburdening us of that heavy load

Load of Taxes that have almost bowed us together, is demonstrable from the deep arrears he is in to the Commanders and Souldiers of his and his Fathers Armies, every body knows how pitifully they were paid from time to time, whereby they were necessitated to make Plunder their help at a dead lift; and if where it cannot be had, the King must loose his right, so must his Servants too, he could pay no farther than it would go; and a poor pittance it was he could raise, and much of that borrowed of his creatures, for which he remains their debtor; this would go but a little way, to stop so many mouths as he retained in his service: the Parliament having the purse of England at their girdle; let it then be considered, what a vast charge the pay of his Army amounts unto, during those many years they were engaged against us, if our Arithmetick will reach it, and then let it be thought upon how little money they have fingered, and by the affairs of the Parliaments party, who notwithstanding Crown Lands, Delinquents Lands, Bishops, Deanes and Chapters Lands, are most sold to satisfy the Arrears of our Armies, who were yet three to one better paid then the Kings, through the help of Excise, and Contributions to a far greater value than the King could possibly command; notwithstanding which, many of the Parliaments old Soldiers cannot much brag of being overpaid to this day, and thereby it may be shrewdly guessed, *Whether it be not likely to prove a very notable expedient to ease us of our Taxes to pay these old scores, which though we should think fit to dispute, I doubt we should not know how to refuse, when they shall bring in their King, who must pay them their Arrears if he will keep them his friends, whom in all appearance he should not do well to disoblige, being more trusty to his interest then to be laid aside upon easie terms; and verily he must be guilty of an implicit faith (for all the confidence of my Gentleman) that dare believe the Cavaliers will remit his Majesty, and the Nation their debts, if ever they shall have opportunity to put their Debenters or Royal faith bills in suit: neither do I know, how the Master hath more right to the Government, then his Servants to their wages, and they that are so conscientious of the one, will in reason find as little scruple for the other, unless there be some pretty fine distinctions that every one is not aware of. Besides what hath been said, it must not be forgotten, how long he hath been upon the ramble, at meer expence in Holland, France, Flanders, and Germany, and mistake if you can, who are like to pay the reckoning.*

Fifthly, *Advance of Trade is the common interest of the Nation. But most probably it is not so obvious to every understanding, how Trade should suffer a discouragement by the return of our old Monarchy; that it should be taken for granted upon a bare Proposition; and I the rather suspect it, because the calling him in, would not find so many Advocates and Votaries but upon a mistaken belief, that Trade would thereby lift up its head: however, some there are very conver-*
sant.

fant in Trade, and most studious for its promotion, who are not in doubt to conclude, *That it must needs be a great disturbance to Trade for a while, because there must necessarily attend it a general expectation and silence, till the issue of such an adventure, which ever makes Trade as still as the times; yea, and when this cloud shall be blown over, which cannot be in haste, yet shall Trade receive no benefit thereby; for besides, that the same oppressions, that are the now destroyers of Trade, must of necessity be continued (notwithstanding there should be peace) for the raising of monies to supply the necessities that would occur.* I say, besides this, *Trade would be a sufferer by the return of our Monarchy: What have the best of all their Majesties that ever Reigned in England done for the encouragement of Trade?* If they had done any thing Material, *England had been more bound to thank them than it is. Something it may be hath been done for the benefit of particular Trades, but Trade in general hath been little befriended. Trade and Tradesmen all along have been the very scorn and envie of the Court: not fit to keep a Gentleman company, but at his distance, though ten times better then himself in estate; must be looked upon as sorry Mechanick fellows, notwithstanding in other Nations or Commonwealths, their best Gentry, Lords, Earls, Dukes hold it no disparagement to Trade: Hereby Trade became of so good esteem, that a Gentlemans Son should be bred up for the Gallows rather then be dishonoured by a Trade: Hence a man might play the good husband, Carr, Plow, buy and sell Hogs, Sheep, Horses, Cowes, Oxen, Hens, Geese, and yet be a tolerable Country Squire, but a Tradesman, no by no means, the time was when these were not fit to be numbered with the dogs of their flock: It was a noble knack to encourage Trade and Tradesmen, that care must be had least they should be too fine, and be mistaken for Gentry, and by all means their wives must be dressed according to Court directions, least they should vye gallantry with the Madams of Prerogative; by all means they must know themselves, and tis pity some course is not taken now, that we may know a Tradesman from his betters; and however this may rather provoke some to laughter, then a serious thought about it, yet it is not of so light consideration; for whosoever is concerned to keep Trade under, he hath two things to do that will effect it. One is, Set Trade into a condition of contempt, and this will keep a people of high Spirits (where the Gentry are highly honoured) it will keep them off from Trades, and make them seek their fortunes some other way; and if this prevail, then some reasonable boones may be granted to those few that maintain the Trade; for some Trade doth well under the greatest Tyranny; but if men will be content to be any thing or nothing, to be base, and dishonourable, to get riches in away of Trade, and so begin to overstock a Monarchy, with Traders and Trade, then follows*

all

all manner of Gabels and Impositions, that if they will be doing, they shall be sure to have no more then their labour for their pains: How much the flourishing of this City hath been envied, some do yet very well remember; and how it was feared *London* should grow too big for *England*. It hath alwayes been a maxime with Monarkes to keep the unruly *Plebeians* from being over pursey, least their wits should increase with their wealth, and they should begin to contend for their Priviledges; and therefore to make the conquest compleat, those Projectors and Patentees, were encouraged with their Monopolies, to eat out the heart of Trade, and keep the Merchant as bare as my nail: which (with some other grievances) was the very beginning and ground of our late Quarrel: when although some did arrive to vast Estates, by reason of the Paucity of Tradef-men, scarcely any minding a Trade but such as had very low fortunes to begin, and these living in times of Peace, and Court jollity. Yet was not this so general a good for the reasons beforementioned, but so little encouragement was given, that if any Gentleman of a considerable Reputation had engaged any of his younger children in a Trade, he should be looked upon to have debased his family for ever, and marred the generosity of his child; being only in a capacity to be put in Couples with a Hat and a Coat; a convenient match for a pair of Spatterdashies, and Leather Breeches; for such were generally those (saving only some few more serious then the rest) that occupied any Trade when they first began their employment. How well the Citizens of *London* would be rewarded (by calling in the *Scottish* King) for not being like the men of *Isachar*, crouching under their loads in the late Kings time, let those threatening letters of his late Majesty to this City inform those who are so sollicitous for the return of *Monarchy*. Who ever would have Trade to flourish in *England*, must dis-franchise two parts in three of those that have served Apprentiships since 1640, or must think of some better expedient then our old *Monarchy* for its advancement; it being abundantly manifest there are too too many Tradef-men, and well willers to Trade, to thrive under that *Monarchy*, and receive that benefit by it they expect, who if there were such reasonable encouragement as might be given, would go near to be every second man in the Nation. Trade is now grown, and growing into so good esteem, which can never sort with the interest and continuance of *Monarchy*, nor *Monarchy* with it.

Sixthly, *Tis the common interest of the Nation, that the Sovereign powers and authority of Parliament be vindicated and maintained, and their freedom and priviledges secured.* This is indeed *Salus populi*, all that we have to shew for the securing of whatsoever we can call ours: Let Parliaments be rendered useles and unable to serve us, and all is cancelled that we hold by, we must become the most perfect slaves and

villains that can be. How well our Parliaments have been treated by our Monarkes, our Histories are not silent, having ever been looked upon with an evil eye, *as the bane of their Prerogative*, and therefore were sure never to be Summoned *but upon most important and urgent occasions for money*, when all other artifices and contrivances failed: And if they durst be so bold as to meddle with the *general Grievances of the Nation*, and were so sturdy *to prosecute their Redress*, should not fail to be turned out of service. What ever boons they procured for the people, were wrung like drops of blood from the noses of their *most excellent Majesties*; and seldom or never, without venturing at least, or *pouring out their own blood in the purchase*. All the possibility they had to do us good, was disputed by inches, and got now a little, and then a little out of the very fire, and at a hard push, at last came to signify just nothing; Parliaments being utterly dissolved and broken up by meer Will and Pleasure, whensoever they *sined against the good liking of their Driver*. A happy condition no doubt, and well agreeing with the *Liberty of the Subject*. We need look no further back then the late King Charles (though whole Volumes could not contain what might be written) and we shall find more then enough to our purpose: all the Parliaments that ever he called in his life, till his last, being quickly broken to pieces by his arbitrary will, and not suffered to do the Nation any service: This is so notorious, that no man will have the face to deny it; and therefore this Parliament, finding that by no other way they could be made *useful to the Nation*, made terms for themselves, not to be dissolved but by their own Consent and Act: Mr. Pryn in his Narrative asserts this self same thing; *The King being hard put to it for Money, and sorely vexed by the irresistible Clamours of the people, was forced to make a virtue of necessity, and to strike a bargain with them, Having tyed up his hands that he could not dissolve them, he must needs be pecking at them one by one; but finding himself prevented, not more by the Act he had passed for their continuance and the priviledges they claimed for their Five Members, then by the honesty of the City, who would not suffer him to do them harm: He soon discovered how much security his Act for continuance should have yielded them; for departing the City, he sets up his Standard, and declares them Rebels, and what not, again, and again, and fights them to his own ruine. Tsz, after he was beat out of the field, and could bear up against them no longer, he runs in disguise to the Scots, hoping thereby to set us together by the ears, which after fell out to their very little honour. Wherein had he prevailed upon the Parliament, either by his Forces or his last reserve of Policy, in turning himself over to the Scots; the most mischievous and malicious design could be put in practice, and worse in mine opinion then any of the rest, having been the ground of all our mischief since; and verily they must presse the*
Covenant.

Covenant lustily, that after all this can perswade us we were bound to preserve his Person, and Honour, and Authority, and his Heirs for ever: I say, had he prevailed upon the Parliament, we had been the most absolute Vassals of Europe, we should have had amends made us for dissolving former Parliaments, and the ruine of this, by never seeing another. But no question, the Son is otherwise enlightened, and seeing the Rock upon which his Father split, will be sure to avoid it, and will think it his happiness and honour to be governed by his Parliaments; and therefore *is willing to agree to us what our most wanton wishes can ask*, as our Author thinks fit to abuse us; but we are not so easily moved to believe against sense, nor can be perswaded, *that the honesty of his person, and the sameness of his Interest with the Nation* (which last proves a little disputable it should seem by this discourse) of both which my Author makes to great brags, would be good security to embolden us to entrust him with dispensing to us these unvaluable blessings that God hath given us by the mediation of our Swords; since we are of full age, and know how to manage them our selves to our better advantage: but should we distrust our selves to be such infants, as must call in a Guardian; it would be no great wisdom to make a bargain, and sale in Trust, and put the price of our All into his hands, in his name to be kept for us, who believes himself Heir to his Fathers Prerogatives, and would make no bones to cry all his own, possession being eleven points of the Law, it is something to say, *he is Fathers own Son, and must take his revenge upon Parliaments for the good turns they have done his Father and him*: and the old *Charles* being in red letters in the Cavaliers Callender as the best of Kings, we should wrong his memory to hope better of the Child than the Parent; who hath to an hair trod in his Fathers track, where ever he could set his shoe, and discovered his good affection to our Parliaments, both in his Fathers time, and since he pretended to be *Charles the Second*: being as perfectly fitted to rise up in his Fathers stead, as if he had been spit out of his mouth: and they who so vigorously advise for a treaty with him, hoping to kill him with kindness to overcome evil with good, to court him into this Throne by such smooth language as those, *1 King. 12. 4. Thy Father made our yoke grievous: now therefore, make thou the grievous service of thy Father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee*; will finde, although he ask counsel of the Old men that stood before his Father in his life time, who will advise him, as *vers. 7. If thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever*: Yet notwithstanding after three dayes (a short times) breathing, after consulting with his Young men, he will most certainly do, though it may be before hand will not so plainly deal with us, as did *Rehoboam* with the

men of Israel, *vers. 13.* And the King answered the people roughly, and forsook the Old mens counsel that they gave him : and spake to them after the counsel of the Young men, saying, *My Father made your yoke heavy, and I will adde to your yoke ; my Father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with Scorpions.* Whosoever thinks it their benefit to quit the Priviledges of Parliament, for the Prerogatives of an Hereditary Monarchy, shall do well to believe it their interest to call him in. Yea, routing of Parliaments is found so absolute a requisite to Prerogative. and so really the interest and concernment of a Single Person, that the Old Lord Protector (who swore so solemnly to preserve the Laws of the Land) made no stick, but broke those Parliaments in pieces which he called to serve his turn, if they could not say the Lesson which was taken out for them : and thus it will be to the end of the Chapter, if care be not had ; and they say prevention is the best physick.

Seventhly, *Settlement is the common interest of the Nation.* This is that every one wishes zealously pretend unto, but few take the right course to procure ; and therefore many being wearied out with expectation, fear we shall never see a Settlement, that no way can be found out, to give a rational content to all parties among us, that can be brought into practice, and therefore have doomed England to destruction, because *a house, or Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand* : because we have been so many years labouring under distraction, and emptied from Vessel to Vessel, they fear it will never be otherwise : but these are their fears, not their desires. Every one, whose business is not to fish in troubled waters, heartily wishing a Settlement in these Nations ; which would be so much the more welcome to us, as the want of it so long hath made us lament after it : It would be a great rejoicing to know where we should rest, *that we might sit under our own Vines and Figtrees, without being alarmed with this insurrection, and that Change of Government, this Omb, and the other contrary Engagement,* enough to make a wise man mad : but how this may be accommodated will fall in afterward, it shall suffice here to note how unreasonable it is to hope for a Settlement by calling in the late Kings Son : For where seeds of Disturbance and Disorders are universally sown (which though now more hidden and underground, yet will soon appear after a little expectation) there no settlement can be hoped for. This then is made good by consequence, it having been manifest, how he must needs trample upon the consciences of Religious people, which can but little oblige them ; give encouragement to Papists, who will be continually plotting to disturb our peace : Entrench upon Property, which will create him not a few enemies : Encrease Taxes, which are the great markbait at this day : Discourage Trade, which will prepare men to raise their fortunes upon the ruines of

of the publique: and that his Prerogative will clafh with the Priviledges of Parliament, which, if ever he grant us another Parliament, would moft probably beget us another Twenty years Diftraction: If this then produce a Settlement of thefe Nations, it muft be acknowledged, a wonder is wrought for us: being a means not only very unlikely, but moft contrary to its end; which only the hand of Omnipotency can over-rule. So that in all appearance, fhould he acquire the Government of thefe Nations, it would be too hot to hold, and we fhould be further off from Settlement than now we are. From the whole I conclude,

That the Interest before mentioned under Seven Heads are Indifpenfible.

That the bringing in the late Kings Son is incompatible therewith.

Both which are fufficiently cleared from any doubt: therefore it is by no means advifable to call him in. What fhould I inftance in Reformation of Religion: *Eftablifhing the good and whollem Laws of the Land, which concern the Community: or Indempnifying irregular actions:* Neither of which do require the application of fuch a *deffperate experiment*; although fome mercileffe State Quackfalvers make this prefcription, and thereby keep our wounds ftill bleeding, and diftort us limb from limb, to praftife their skill upon us, and make a trial upon their miserable patients, till we fwoon away and die under their clutches: when fome Kitchen phyfick, fomething more natural to the body of the Nation, would with much more reafon, in leffe time, and with leffe hazard, reftore the pale-faced Religion of England, and confirm the good Laws of the Nation, which neceffity hath fomething weakened of later years, and procure a foud Indempnity, which fome think to be in a languifhing condition; neither of which, for ought I perceive yet, are in fuch extremity as to be under neceffity of drinking in thefe Alfs I think, I have done what I firft promifed, and made it clear, *That the calling in the late Kings Son, is neither certain; nor yet probable meafure, for prefervation of the Nation, and the Rights and Interests thereof.* My next bufineffe is to produce an Expedient that may do what the other only did pretend; which trouble I give my felf and my Reader, not to prefcribe to men in Authority, referring it to their judgements, what form of Popular Government will make this Nation moft happy,

whereunto my opinion shall submit, though it should not consent ; but because our Author put in those termes [*The only means of Preservation*] thereby insinuating as if ruine were unavoidable ; *If his King could not save us, we must needs perish.* I think my self thereby fairly provoked not by my silence to consent, *that the Nation is left in an undone condition* ; having rendred his only preservative fruitlesse and frustrate, but to perswade my Countrymen to ceate from the Speeches and Actions of such as are desperate, and devoted to ruine, by offering a safe and facile way of recovery, to a better condition and temper of State, than our Nation hath enjoyed in the memory of man, towards which the pulse of the Nation is felt to beat pretty kindly. Wherein I shall not be so much an Innovator, as some others, seeing I do not much magnifie such Propositions as have been made for new modelling *Foundations* and *Superstructures*, till it grows up to a *Fabric* not unfity resembling a *Wind-mill*, which turns round while it stands fast : while an *English way of a Commonwealth* is no farther to seek, I should mislike it more than I do, if I took a voyage to *Venice*, or any other part of the world, to bring in a new pattern ; since if my clothes did fit as well to my back, they would please me no lesse, than if they were *alla mode a France*. I say then,

That the Supream Authority of the Nation, being fully vested in Parliaments of England, successively and frequently chosen by the Good People thereof, being free and without check upon them ; this is an infallible means (under God) of preservation of the Nation, and the Rights and Interests thereof.

By the Supream Authority, I mean, *the whole Legislative Power, and whatever Powers of right belonged formerly to Kings, Lords, and Commons jointly.* I adde, *that this be fully vested in them* ; thereby I understand, *that they have the sole power of the Militia* : which was claimed by the King, and by the Parliament ; but whoever could get fastest hold would not let go, but would be sure to have and to hold from that day forward ; without this they would only be complemented,

mented, *The Supream Authority of the Nation* ; as in courtesie we be-
speak Sir John and Sir Thomas, Knights of the Lord Protector, but no
such matter—— In *Parliaments of England chosen*, I intend *Knights*
Citizens and Burgeses. By the *Good People of the Nation*, I mean, such
as have not declared themselves for the King against the Parliament in the
beginning of the Wars, or been discovered in Arms, or Plots upon the same
accounts as disturbers of the Peace since; being such, as by Law are capable
thereof. Successively and frequently, I design, that the People lose not their
benefit of Elections after once choosing, by Parliaments sitting time out of
minde; but that all Parliaments be chosen, and often chosen by the Peo-
ple, at least once in two years. Being free, and without check upon them;
I would have, that they be not overpowered by force, nor controuled by a
Negative Voice of Single Person or Peers. Thus explained, I will stand
to my tackling,

That such a Parliament is an Infallible
means (under God) for preservation
of the Nation, and the Rights and
Interests thereof.

I shall take the lesse pains to clear the equity of my Proposition,
since the *Malecontents* of the Nation that have made so great a noise
lately, seem to make this their only wish; and profess to acquiesce
in the Resolutions of *A Free Parliament*, whose Supremacy they
make so little doubt to acknowledge; that they, or some body for
them, profess they will be content to be accounted Traytors if they
dispute. I shall only say this, *That the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses*
are those, and only those in whom we repose our trust, as those from whom
we expect our benefits; they are as it were the Covenant-servants of the
Nation, are a part, and the best part of our selves too, if we be not
over ruled in our choice; such, who if they should harm us, must wrong
themselves, being obliged in every thing they impose upon us, our In-
terests being common and inseparable: but that of King and Lords dis-
tingt, yea, contrary to our Liberties, and so selfish, and self-seekers, and
most unlike to be our Saviours. The other are imbrued in the
same bottom with us, and so are concerned to make the best advan-
tage for us they can: When these are bound to maintain their Ho-
nours and Prerogatives, though upon our ruine: who are usually
nevertheless Pursey and Powerfull, as we are the more slavish and
indigent. Therefore it concerns us, that the Supream Authority be
vested

vested as I said. I propose them the *Militia*, because it would be poor Providence to betray them with consulting for our welfare, if they have not power to see their Resolutions put in effectual execution: give a Parliament power of declaring Laws, and some other person or persons power to dispute those Laws, or to subvert them, and then you may save the labour of the first, since the latter shall render the Supremacy of the former Subordinate. I know there can be no *Supream Authority* without the *Militia*; 'tis the same thing, but this (*ad homines*) to men that would unwillingly part with the Sword, yet seem very free the *Parliament* should be the *Supream Authority*. We remember who disputed the *Militia* with the late King, I would they had it now without dispute.

I propose that they be *successively and frequently chosen*, because it is most unreasonable that Parliaments, or what ever we call that we shall chuse, should continue as long as they please; this would make way for corruption, as it is commonly suggested against some in this *Parliament*, whose blame is very improvidently laid upon all the rest; for, certainly there is no greater temptation upon a Parliament than Continuance, and I would not they should be led into this temptation: this would make Parliaments ten thousand times worse than Monarchy.

I would have them *frequently chosen*; because it is better for us, that they be often chosen, than that they do not alwayes continue; that they be quickly in a condition, or in possibility of being in a condition of subjection is more for our security, and more likely that they should provide for us and themselves, than if they should continue long in rule.

I would have them *chosen by the good People of the Nation*, as before explained; for, it seems to me unreasonable that those who in the first Quarrel took part with the King, should be admitted as yet to elect, or be elected; who having waved the Unpirage of Parliament, and referred themselves to the Arbitration of the Sword, cannot expect that after a direct judgement given against them in the case; they should have recourse thither from whence their cause had been before Superseded; and for the others they are, or might be more sensible of their miscarriages than to expect equal benefit with the more trusty and upright in the Nation; neither of which can with safety presently be admitted to chuse or be chosen, least their choice and counsels should lead to involve again the Nation in blood.

I adde, that they be not controuled by King, Single Person, nor Peers, or, forced by Power: for, if they should be under the Law of the former, or under the force of the latter; as good never a whit, as never the better: ere would be a Law in those Members, would war against
the

the law in their minds ; and they could not do the things they would ; so that though to will were presents, yet how to perform they might truly say, they know not ; they could find no ability.

In a word, Two things very much commend the nature of my Proposition, *It takes in all interests, and it doth it by choice,*

First, The whole interest of the Nation is taken in to constitute this *Supream Power*, every County, City, and considerable Burrough, send or should send in competent Numbers to secure and assert their Interests ; no sort of men but have an Interest going here, the Clergie not excepted, who, though they do not sit here least it should hinder their studies, yet strike a great stroak in Elections, and never lose themselves by a Parliament. The Nobility, if they be not too high in the instep, and think it below them to serve their Country, may serve themselves too in this Council ; being as like to be chosen as any other, if they please. A Parliament alwayes takes in, or is taking-in all Interests, every body hath his stock going here, which can be said of no other Power, therefore most rationally may we expect it should give satisfaction to all, since it takes care of the Interests of all.

Secondly, *It is performed by choice*, which gives the most absolute and undoubted right, and is that under which we are infinitely obliged to sit down satisfied : A Woman cannot dispute the right, nor scruple to sit down content under the shadow of her husband, especially if he be not obtruded upon her consent, since he is the fruit of her own choice ; she might have taken another if she would : but she could not so well content her self under the right and rule of a Master, unto whom she was betrayed against her will ; though since she cannot help it, she complices to make her slavery the more tolerable : But now the Woman that hath chosen her husband, though he prove worse than she expected, her choice hath obliged her as long as he liveth. How undoubted then is their right of Supremacy, and with how abundant content and satisfaction may we give up our selves under their rule whom we chuse our selves, unto whom we plight our troth for so little time ; unto whom we do not say, *Be our Servants to day, and we will be yours for ever after* (though I would say this to Parliaments in general, yet not to particulars) but have a power in our selves, after a little pause, to mend our Masters, and put them into the same state of subjection with our selves, which is not found in other Constitutions ; by the late *Other- House* we may take a survey and estimate of the beginning and original of the *House of Peers*.

Those that desire full satisfaction of the Peoples right to chuse their own Government, and Governours, I refer them to Mr. *Harringtons Oceana*, were they shall not lose their labour, if they do not shut their eyes.

I passe on to commend my Expedient, by its necessary Effects, which will most certainly preserve the Nation, and the Rights and Interests

Interests thereof. Let us try it then upon those Common Interests of the Nation mentioned before, and see how we shall succeed, which I shall refer to be judged fit to be received or rejected, as it abides the trial.

First then, for *Liberty of Conscience*. What in the world can be imagined to secure this better than a Parliament; they are obliged to no one particular party, so as to humour them, to the oppression or suppressing of the rest, having experience both of the affection and valour of the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptized, towards the recovery of their just Supremacy, besides are too vast and too noble a body, to be agitated by so low, so narrow, and such a contracted soul, as should strait lace them so close that they should be inexorable and stiff to all Dissenters, from the more generally received faith * of the Nation, so as they should not be able to breathe the blessing of their protection upon them. 'Tis true Monarchy hath this Maxime, *No Bishop, no King*: I know no such Maxime of a *Free-State*, of whom only this is true, *their title is so good, they need fool no party to prop up themselves; yea, 'tis their direct interest, to indulge to every man, what liberty he can claim as a Man or a Christian, which is not repugnant to Reason or Scripture*. 'Tis a sense of our just Rights, and our claim of them, that bear up the Pillars of a Parliament, it was this that not long since brought them out of Egypt, and 'tis this that makes them the *delight of our eyes, and the joy of our hearts*; it must needs then be their interest, to gratifie us herein. Let us lose the sense of our just Rights, or retaining the sense of them, lose the courage of heart to demand them, and our *Free-state* will soon degenerate into *Slavery*, and become a prey to some *Nimrod*, some *Mighty Hunter*: A Commonwealth can never sit fast upon Blinde Bayard. Besides, *that it is their interest to do every man right*, there can be no party which can pretend to *Liberty of Conscience*, that can want their Advocates in this Assembly, every Party may tell their tale here, and if they want not Reason on their side, need not fear of succeeding to their content; Can it be thought to sort with the Wisdom or Interest of the Parliament, to carry it on in a way of Faction, as some dream, and thereby to disoblige any considerable number of their Members and Friends, when they shall urge nothing but what may be with safety conceded? Can they so little understand themselves, as to forget, *that to cement and unite is their interest*, which cannot be otherways performed than by gratifying all Religious pretenders, so far as Reason and Religion will allow, *divide & impera* may not be written among their Politicks. Yea, the Episcopal party, who are not easie to be perswaded, *that the Supremacy of Parliaments can signifie any good to them*, cannot fail to receive an equal benefit with the rest in matters of Religion, if they will not leave us without hope

* I do not
mean Fun-
damental.

hope of their compliance with the Government, since they cannot be without many well-willers to their way of Worship in that Council.

The Presbyterians too, must needs finde friends there to bear his head above water, notwithstanding that mighty deluge of Quakers and others, having taken so deep rooting in the mindes of many, that those winds and waves, may do their worst against this House, and not find its foundation in the sand. So that it is evident, a sufficient liberty must be had by a Parliament, to content any but such as will be satisfied with nothing lesse then being *absolute Lords over Gods heritage, and having absolute dominion over our Faith*. There are some in the world that think it good discretion to indent for Liberty of Conscience, as not thinking it fit to trust our Representatives herein, fearing they should take up a little, and not throw the reins upon the neck of every opinion as it is this day: But for mine own part, I am free to trust my All with a Parliament, as not fearing them in the least; and for my Religion, I should not think it much, if it would not engage me freely to obey, or patiently to suffer, in case I must needs run counter to the unanimous resolutions of the Supream Authority, thinking it expedient that one man should die for the people; better I should suffer in my single concernment, then they should disturb the Publique Tranquillity. But put the worst, think as hardly as can be thought of Parliaments, here is a sufficient course to be taken with them, if we do indent with them at Elections about Liberty of Conscience; they cannot meddle in what they are not trusted with. Those that are so tender for security in this point, cannot devise any way to hold if this will not, if they can lee us know, which project we will allow in a due latitude rather than loose our business, but we shall not esse need it: however, this is neither Episcopal nor Presbyterian policy, which makes me wonder that either of these should be so much estranged from the Supremacy of Parliaments, and makes me often lament the hard fate of Parliaments, that one sort of men dare not trust them for a sufficient veneration; and the other sort of men are unwilling to credit them, for an uniformity of worship: laying both together, makes me comelude, They are most like to be our Saviours, being disposed for middle persons, to salve those extreames amongst us, which are not to be reconciled, but by the interposition of such, as will not espouse the pretensions of either, but endeavour to make both yeeld as much as may be to the satisfaction of all: and if Parliaments were more a party with either, they would be more unlike to atone the differences among us, but being a mixt body, and necessarily made up of all parties, must needs receive such an alloy thereby, as shall dispose them to so great an indifferency, as may give every man reason enough to abide their award and judgement, unless we will reserve to our selves a liberty

of making Exceptions (as we may against some *Jury-men*) without shewing the least reason in the world for so doing: I conclude with Mr. Harrington, *Either liberty of Conscience can have no security at all, or under a Popular Government must have the greatest security.*

Secondly, *Extirpation of Popery.* Here now I cannot chuse but run sours against Portland, and fall foul upon Mr. Pryn; how I shall get off, no body knows: *Ipsè dixit*: He tells us in his *true and perfect Narrative*, as he calls it, that it, was a Plot laid long ago by the *Jesuites*, to reduce us to a *Common wealth*: That *Richelieu* bequeathed it as a Legacy of his *Politicks* to *Mazarin*, to root out our *Royal Family*, and to perswade us into a *Popular Government*: And that a *Confessor* of the *Queen* waved his Hat at the *Decollation* of the *King*, in great triumph; as who should say, *The day was their own.* And much more to the same purpose, to enforce his Allegation, *That the Government of a Common wealth is Popish and Jesuitical, and tends to the advance and encrease of Popery.* I shall make no doubt, so farre to agree with Mr. Pryn, *That the Papists and Jesuites great design is and all along hath been, and will be, To dash us in pieces one against another*: And it might be no insignificant Artifice to put us upon laying aside *Kingship*; hoping thereby eternally to engage us in *Parties and Factions*, that might in the end be the ruine of each other: And who can tell whether Mr. Pryn hath not been an unhappy instrument in promoting their service. It is not to be doubted but the *Jesuites* were well enough pleased, with the first Differences between the Parliament and King, and yet I hope the Parliament were not *Jesuited*: I dare say it did not trouble the *Jesuites* that Mr. Pryn was brought into London from his house of bondage with so much triumph; for he must needs make a good Incendiary: And he tells us, *The plot was laid long before*, no doubt it pleased them as well that the *Scots* and *English* were engaged one against another; a hopeful way to settle our *Common wealth*: Did it go to their hearts, doth Mr. Pryn think, that old *Cromwel* thrust this Parliament out of doores; that he made himself Protector, that he broke up so many Conventions at his discretion; that the Protectorship was laid by? and are they not more than ordinarily concerned now to rout this Parliament, before they can lay the foundations of our *Free-State*? Doth not Mr. Pryn think they would cry, *Abs, abs; so we would have it*, if they could by any means see the Parliament and Army at variance? And were not this a blessed project for settlement of a *Free-State*: I will not say Mr. Pryn is a *Jesuite*, but this I must say, He hath done more then one mans share to distract us, and so lay the foundation of this last Sedition; which smells more of the *Jesuite* then any of the rest, being more cunningly designed, more secretly managed, and unprovocably

universally spread, then any that hath been on foot to this day: And yet Mr. Pryn will not say this was a design for a *Free State*. 'Tis the Papists design out of doubt, to disturb and destroy us: to unsettle us all they can, that they may ruine us. And therefore it was not unlike the Disciples of *Machiavel*, to drive us from a settlement, hoping to crumble us to dust, before we could arrive to a better constitution: If it were their ploy, as I know no great ground to believe, (and Mr. Rogers hath well answered) more then to distract us: I suppose they meant us no good by it, but they are fallen into the pit they digged for us; *The Lord is known by the Judgments he executeth, the wicked are snared in the work of their own hands: Higgaion Selah.* We are now in a hopeful way of settling a Common-wealth, and we shall quickly understand what advantage such a settlement would yield to the Papist: It is not at all to be dispured but another Queen *Mary* would do their businessse as well as a Commonwealth; who would hardly be perswaded to joyn our Nation to Saint *Peters* Patrimony. I appeal to all the World, whether their designs be not more easily wrought out of a private interest, then a publique; Whether it should be harder to make one person for them, or the whole Nation? We are no strangers to the *genius* of our Native Countrey, if the single person should deny to pleasure them, it were no hard matter to take their revenge there; by *Poyson, Ponyard, or Pistol*: They could quickly remove out of their way an *Edward the Sixth*, or a Prince *Henry*, if they were like to spoyle their designs: Were they not more likely to advantage themselves by matches of our Kings with *Papist* Women: Doth not Mr. Pryn acknowledge the *Jesuites* had a great number of Colledges in *England*, in his fore-cited Book: Do we not all know, the Papists had as much countenance as they can imagine under our *Free State*? Remember what my Author saith, which I mentioned before. Yea, have not our Parliaments been their greatest enemies? I appeal to Mr. Pryn, *If the House of Commons have been any of their best friends since our Nation hath been Protestants* He tells us himself, *How angry the Papists were at the Propositions of the Isle of Weight, which the King consented to against the Papists*: We all know whose was the contrivance. Yea, all the *Papists* of *England* appeared for the King in his warres against the Parliament; you will judge then whether they be for a Commonwealth against *Monarchy*; or whether they mean us a settlement of our Common-wealth; especially since *Monarchy* is now cryed up hotter then ever, by that party, and their Agents; or any thing rather then we should settle in the way of an equal *Commonwealth*: which certainly if ever they put us in pursuit of, they never meant we should each, or overtake.

But let my Expedient be put in practice, the Nation settled upon
 E 3 the

the Foundations of *Parliaments*, and my life for it, The Papists shall receive their deadly wound, which shall not be healed: nor shall they have power to vex our Nations any more, for they have been the mortall enemies of Parliaments, engaged in wars against them all along: and alwayes practising sedition against them. Instances are familiar here, and in *Ireland*: whereby they have engaged the Parliaments their everlasting foes; so that those of the Parliament that would have restored the King, shewed their good will unto the *Papists*, by causing the King to agree to their persecution: Yea, Parliaments ever since Queen *Mary* especially, have shewn their teeth at them, and bitten too as often as they have been able to reach them, till they have been rated off by their Masters: And it cannot be but their *sin* must come in remembrance before our Parliaments: And then falling into their hands whom they have obliged not to befriend them, they may expect what will follow, *even the wages of their iniquities*, which I see by their bustling they are well aware of: their *Religion* is an enemy to our Peace. They have done nothing to merit the Parliaments favour; nor can find any advocates in that Assembly, that dare speak out for them; no *Cottington*, no *Digby*: There shall be *Episcopal*, *Presbyterian*, *Independant*, and *Baptized*, all vying their zeal against them, who shall most fervently express his anger at them. Yea, and he shall think he hath sufficiently purged himself from all Damnable Errours, that shall wound the Hairy Scap of the *Scarlet Whore*: The Papist will have good luck, if they do not receive at their hand double for all their villanies; being more like to give them bloud to drink, who have drunk bloud in abundance, than to give them any encouragement or toleration among us: Yea, the very *Fifth Monarchy men*, who of late yeers have been mentioned with as much detestation and indignation, as if they maintained some damnable Opinions, or *Doctrines of Devils*, are as forward as any to shew their zeal in this particular.

Thirdly, *Defence of Property*: This Parliament must necessarily make good for their own credits. 'Tis irrational to fear that *Property* in general should be endangered by a Parliament, but those Estates which have been sold by former Parliaments, must be made good by following Parliaments, else they crack their reputation, and undo their credit: They who have been faithfull to the Parliament, need not fear, no nor the *Cavaliers*, for having compounded, there will remain no more sacrifice for their sin, if they live peaceably in the Land. Besides, for *Crown-lands* and *Church lands*, they can have no temptation to alienate them from the Purchasers, since it cannot be, but they will have a Stock going in them themselves; and *Kings*, *Bishops*, *Deanes* and *Chapters* being outed the Nation, there will be no occasion of those Lands to maintain their Grandeur: And for Delinquents

quents Estates that are sold, there can be no thought of their restitution; for care will be had that their Provender do not prick them to sedition against the State. However, if any of their Estates have been sold without due proof of their Delinquency (as it is pretended of some) God forbid but their Estates be restored them, the Purchasers receiving their Money from the State, or Satisfaction some other way: So that without peradventure, *Every man shall enjoy the purchase of his Penny under the Supremacy of Parliaments*: And yet would there be no cause of Contest, but it would be a matter of *general content and applause*, if the *Parliament* should be so highly just as to enquire in good earnest into the frauds of the *Commonwealth*; and make them pay the full value of their Purchases, who have *plaid the Knaves*, and cheated both the *Souldier* and the *State*; and then they too, may enjoy their Purchases, when they have paid the same rate for them with other men, who were forced to pay to such a value, or go without them.

Fourthly, *Easing of Taxes*. This is so absolute a benefit that we have had by the *House of Commons* formerly so called, that our Kings looked upon them only as our *Purvers*. And our last Lord Protector in his Speech to the *other House*, and the *Commons* assembled in the late *Lords House*, directed himself to the *Commons*, as if so be they had signified nothing in the world but to look to the *Peoples Cash*, and so *see which way their Money went before they parted with it*. And the truth is, they have been alwayes very frugal for us, till the late unhappy differences; which have necessitated so many Charges, as hath forced them to a strange kinde of Prodigality, such as hath almost made the Nation *Bankrupt*: which certainly had been repaired long before this time, had not that unparallel'd *Usurpation* been practised upon our Government, that hath put us many hundred thousand pounds in debt, which must be paid; and may justly excuse the *Parliament* for having lately made bold with us, to pay a little beforehand, and must leave them without blame, though they punish us a little more than ordinarily, till the Nation be in some measure out of debt: No man in his right senses but must willingly contribute thereunto as he is able, having no reason to expect it can yet be otherwise. But the Debts of the Nation being brought into a narrower room, which a little time may compasse, we may expect, and shall finde, our Taxes will be brought as low as possible: for, 'tis the concernment of themselves to do us what good they can herein, they paying equal Taxes with other men, according to the value of their Estates: Besides, being not of long continuance, and so not likely to advantage themselves by Offices, must needs be willing to go off with applause; every Parliament striving who shall leave least burden upon the people; There being no greater service they can do,

to commend themselves, to the general good liking of the Nation : And therefore the *Lord Protector* after once he brought the Tax to *Thirty five thousand pounds per men/em*, with all his *Rhetorick*, could never persuade any of his *Parliaments* to raise it a penny, being unwilling to draw the envy of the people upon themselves : And it may be hoped, *That the Parliament now sitting, will do something towards our relief herein* ; although perhaps at present they cannot avoid a greater Tax then hath been upon us these Four or Five years, for reasons mentioned before, yet may we not hope in vain, to have amends made us, one way or other : It being a shrewd temptation to gain a general applause ; that *when they have finished their course, and done their work*, they may have the Nations *Euge, Well done, good and faithful servants*. Something of this nature they have already under consideration ; I wish it may succeed according to their desires : For I am very sure they are industriously studious to render us some such Services, as may signalize the care they have of our welfare : In the mean while (pardon my homely Proverb) *It is not wisdom to lose a Hogge for a half peniworth of Tarr* ; But when they can, let them give us as much ease as possible ; succeeding *Parliaments* will be sure to take of what they may, but will hardly be persuaded to lay one more load, as you may well imagine : And every succeeding *Parliament* will have advantage of the other, to do us a pleasure, as we shall grow better quietted, and lesse disposed to sedition and disturbance ; which fruit we must needs reap by a *Parliament's* Supremacy, which cannot but give content to all Parties.

Fifthly, *Advance of Trade*. Here I dare say, I shall little need to bespeak attention ; every one greedily listening after this advantage. *Trade is the very life and spirits of a Common-wealth ; it makes the complexion of a people lively, and pleasant* : When it flourisheth, you may observe a general Jubile. *Break the Neck of Trade, and you break the Heart of a Common-wealth, and make it fit to be ridden by every Tyrant and Usurper*. When people have more then enough to doe to get their Bread, they will have little leisure or heart to contend for their Rights and Priviledges : 'Tis when *Riches* abound, that men are in a condition to bear up their Priviledges ; when *Trade* flourisheth, then *Riches* flow in, and then no cost will be spared to preserve our Rights : Every body knows the general benefit of *Trade* ; I need say no more to that. But this observe, *Whosoever you take notice of Rulers giving all possible encouragement to Trade, you may be confident that people are already arrived under a just Government ; or that it is really designed for them* : And whoever they be, that Curtail *Trade*, whether single persons, or others, and think it not fit to give it its just Priviledges ; (although they may do some common Curtesies for it,

it, to pick thanks) never doubt but they intend to make us their slaves ; let their pretensions be never so specious for Liberty. The more refined any Government is, the more exactly squared to the line and Plumet of Reason; still the more of their countenance will be bestowed on Trade; knowing, the more wealthy we grow, the more we shall contend for them: It is not to be doubted, that Government which is most rational, and gives best satisfaction to the people; that shall be sure to thrive best, where the people thrive most; they grow up together to the greatest height, that Government encourageth Trade, and that Trade supporteth the Government: But Usurpations, and Prerogatives, being against common reason, are best born up upon the ruines of Trade: The more Beggars the more Souldiers for your Money: And therefore some have said, If his late Majesty could have kept this City from getting to such a head, he had sate fast in his Throne: And our old Protector paid this game pretty well, by getting the Customs and Excise raised much higher than ever; and exposing them to Farmers, to squeeze the Trader to some purpose: which hath caused many a man to take Sanctuary in the Upper Bench; and made many others forbear Trading to keep what they have, not knowing which way to get more; which brought Trade to such a passe, that certainly if he had lived Protector Six years more, he had beggared half the Trades-men in the Nation. And whoever he be that shall snatch away the Power out of the hands of our Parliament, be he one man, or a few men, the best of men, what you please to term them; this be sure, they will have such a witness in their Consciences that their Cause is not just, that they will finde it prudence, to keep the Trades-men low enough; being those that set all the wheels of the Commonwealth a going, and bring in the wealth of the Nation; and are sturdy fellows themselves, against Oppressors: And therefore the designe of this Parliament, to take off Customs and Excise, as it is generally reported; which hath been had in deliberation among them, and which they are very desirous the project propounded may answer expectation, of which they were informing themselves by an enquiry throughout the Nation; and therefore have continued the Customs and Excise but for three months longer, to see what may possibly be done in it: I say, this is with me a very important sign, that they did indeed intend us an equal Government: wherein I heartily wished them good successe. It will be a good day in England indeed when Excise is taken off, better if both Customs and Excise could be taken off; but if the Excise were laid by, and the Customs halved, brought as low as any other Nation, or but half the Rates imposed that now are paid; it would be a great ease and benefit; and give infinite content unto the Merchant, and should nevertheless bring more Sacks to the Mill, be a greater Revenue than now, it is, as is easie to demonstrate. Well, had this Parliament given us one lift, and I dare warrant the next shall not be behind hand;

for stil as Parliaments come to be of shorter continuance, and can have no design upon us; they will work *while it is called their day*; that they may give all encouragement to Trade; which must, and will be unto them in stead of *walls and Bulwarks*. And shall for ever secure them, against *King, or house of Lords*. So that their Interest considered, there will need in the Parliaments no Advocates for Trade; it will be so generally the Interest of the whole; but to make the security good beyond possibility of miscarriage; a considerable number of *Trades-men* cannot fail for Cities, and Buroughs, to make voices for the advantage of Trade: Yea, few Gentlemen of the Parliament, but must have younger Children, younger Brothers, or very near Relations that are engaged in Trades; who will not be wanting to do them a pleasure: That a more then common advantage to Trade is hoped for from the Supremacy of Parliaments; I have this to adde, *viz. The extraordinary abounding of Trades-men, since this Parliament first began to scuffle with the King for the priviledges of the people: It is not to be dissembled, how little encouragement hath been given to Trade these many years; through the extraordinary Impositions that have been upon it; and yet 'tis no more to be concealed, how Trades-men have multiplied in London; so that if restraints had not been laid upon Buildings, it would not have been far from London to Brainford*. This is that which hath made Rents so unreasonably high in London; a strange kinde of wilfulness there hath been, that every body will be Trades-men; when all the Trade that hath been going in the Nation these two years and upwards, hath been too little to afford one third part of them a comfortable livelyhood: 'Tis certainly a providence they have for future Benefit that must necessarily accrue after our Hurliburlies are over, and we arrive at a settlement, under an *equal Commonwealth*. And it is, no doubt, a good piece of discretion not to be beaten off from engaging in Trade by present discouragements, when the long run promiseth the greatest advantages that men of but competent Fortunes can hope for: Neither doth the multitude of Traders, when Trade is open, and free, at all hinder Trade, *but the more the merrier, and the better cheer too*. Though when Trade is shut up, and spoiled, every one stands in the others way. I have wondered many times the reason why most of our Gentry have of late affected to place their sons Apprentices, and will give any money, rather then fail to dispose of them in Trades: I durst never think them all, *to be fools and their money soon parted*; yea, the best Gentry of England, are very desirous, and do daily match their Daughters into the City, and give three times the portions that twenty years since would have been given to a Citizen; when money was much more plentiful then now; so that men are concerned to see it the better laid out. And yet Trade, so miserably bad as it hath been of late, I know not how to resolve it otherwise, then a *presage of future good dayes unto the Trader*, grounded

grounded upon the alterations that have befallen us ; and if Tradeſmen have ſo much increaſed under ſo many oppreſſions, when fed upon ſtones, and getting what they have out of a flint, living moſt upon hopes : what may we expect, when under a conſtant Succeſſion of Parliaments, enjoying our peace, trade ſhall receive all poſſible furtherance by Authority, but that we ſhall grow to an immenſe wealth, that ſhall make us with Gods bleſſing, *a wall of braſſe*, and a terror to our Neighbours round about us. Yea, if Trade already be ſo well eſteemed, *that Tradeſmen to a great number, are acknowledged to be men of very good ingenuity, and of commendable behaviour, ſo as many of them are hardly diſtinguiſhed from the beſt bred men of the Nation, and are received as companions for them :* to how much greater Reputation will they arrive when the incumbrances of Trade being removed, men of the beſt literature ſhall think ſome of their time well beſtowed in canvafſing a Trade ; and ſuch curieſies, yea ſuch juſtice muſt needs proceed to Traders from a *Parliaments Supremacy*. Some there are, more nice than wiſe, the Gallants of the times, who are very jealous if the Tradeſmen have much countenance, he will go cheek by jole with them, and not give them the reſpect belongs to them, a meer fancy—Say they, *who doth the Tradeſman live by, but the Gentry?* Very good, and ſo long as they receive a benefit by you, never fear, be not too long in their books, and you will not want their congees ; but I tell theſe Gentlemen they will reap a benefit hereby, for Trade getting reputation, you will be eaſed of thoſe retainers in a great meaſure, thoſe bloudfuckers that leave you not a penny in your purſes by Quarter day. Younger Brothers, and Uncles, and Couſins, that ſtick as cloſe to you as your ſhirts to your backs, who ſcorn a Trade ſo much, that they do as it were rather beg their bread in a Gentile faſhion. Theſe then will be engaged in Trades, and be able to live by their own ingenuity ; beſides, leſſe portions will ſerve turn to ſet them up bravely, then now they draw away from their elder Brothers, which pincheth hard ſometimes, and yet after a little roaring ſpend all, and are turned upon their good Brothers keeping at the laſt, who cannot be ſo little a Gentleman as to ſhut his doores upon them, and if he leave them open, they will be ſure to come in, without crying, *by your leave Sir*, thinking it high injuſtice he ſhould have ſo much when all theirs is gone.

Sixthly, *Soverain powers and privileges of Parliament, eſſerted and vindicated.* This is ſo well cared for by this expedient ; as if every thing elſe were of no comparative conſideration with it ; ſo that thoſe who are our Truſtees in Parliament, whom every part of the Nation chooſeth to act for them ; thoſe that the great Patrons of Prerogative will tell you, were never known any otherwiſe then as Petitioners to their Majeſties, they are ſituated in the *Supream Authority of the Nation, without King or Lords to controul them ; ſo that they may then command*

mand what formerly they might beg, and go without : that thing which we so much complained of, and was indeed a real grievance, that our Commons in Parliament were without power to do us good, by reason of the Negative Voices over them, is hereby sufficiently redressed, and we may expect the benefit of it, if we will be so true to our selves, as to chuse the best deserving Patriots, and most publique spirited men to act for us. I shall instance in three Particulars more that are the common concerns of the Nation, which were only named, before, not insisted on, and hasten an end

Seventhly, *Tis the common interest of the Nation that Religion be reformed according to the Word of God, and the examples of the best reformed Churches.* I do not dispute whether this be State Policy; but sure I am its good Christian prudence. This comes to be our interest, not only as we have left up our hands to the most high so to do, (which upon no account that I know can be dispensed) but as we expect God to bless us, so it becomes our interest to glorifie him by bearing our witness to the truth; without which, it is most high presumption to expect his blessing, especially since we profess our selves Christians, it is surely our duty to glorifie God by a publique profession of our Religion, attested unto by the Supream Authority, such as the publique vote of the Nation shall judge to be most of Divine Authority: it would be hard measure, that the minor part of the Nation, by claiming the benefit and right of serving God according to their consciences, as tender spirited men, should deprive the major part of that tenderness, their consciences must needs oblige them to express to Religion; for if the minor part, claiming liberty of Conscience, shall debar the major part from a publick profession of Religion; then the major part is bereaved of their liberty of conscience by the minor, which is most unequal, as Mr. Harrington hath excellently well observed. It is strange to me, how any man should resolve, that a publique profession, and a Christian toleration are inconsistent and unpracticable; unless this be inseperable from a publique profession, that all dissenters must be persecuted, which can by no means be admitted; yea, I am bold to justify Mr. Harrington in his 45 Aphorism, *That there may be Liberty of Conscience, there must be a National Religion*: it will then be the interest of the Nation, that a publique Ministry be encouraged and maintained: I have Mr. Harrington my friend in this too, Aphorisme 46. *That there may be a National Religion, there must be an endowed Clergy*; and verily he hath many things to this purpose of much concernment and unanswerable. I will repeat some few.

Aphorisme 42. *Where the major part is deprived of the Liberty of Conscience by the minor, there they will deprive the minor of that liberty of conscience, which they might otherwise enjoy.*

Apho. 43. *In Israel there was an endowed Clergy, or Priesthood, and a National Religion under inspection of the Magistrates; whence the Christians*

Christians in Apostolick times, defraying their own Ministry, could have Liberty of Conscience; whereas if the Christians by going about to take away tithes, and abolish the National Religion, had endeavoured to violate the Consciences of the unconverted Jews, these being far greater in number, must needs have taken away the Liberty of Conscience from the Christians.

Aphor. 44. Paul in Athens could freely and undisturbedly convert Dionysius and others, therefore in Athens there was liberty of Conscience; but if Paul and his Converts, had gone about to drive hircelings, or an endowed Priesthood, or Clergy out of that Church, who seeth not that the Athenians would have driven Paul and his Converts out of Athens? I do not forget my self, there must be a publique Ministry maintained, without which our publique, yea and our private Christian profession will be lost; to which the Parliament by their late memorable Votes, as also by their very kind receiving of the *Lecestershire* Petition, have given their publique testimony; Gods blessing on their hearts for it. However, some in the world taking advantage of the rash actings of some few, who ought to have been better disciplined, ye were overruled by the blinde zeal of their private spirits, have thrust fore at the Ministry of the Nation: These are they who receive your Tithes, you see now how much beholding you are to the Ministry; what shall they have Tithes still? when will you know your friends from your foes? but these men know not what spirit they are of; and it appears, *that you have not so learned Christ*: that for the inconsiderate actings of some fiery zealots, you should call for fire to consume them, and starve all the rest: A Ministry so learned, so pious, so spiritual, as no Nation, no age of the world hath enjoyed, in so great plenty. Yea, those very men, against whom many cannot find words bad enough to expresse their malice. The Presbyterian Ministers, of whom I may truly say, *they come behind in nothing of the chiefest Apostles* (those that pretend more immediate converse with the Spirit) having their witness in the souls, and consciences of very many, *the seal of whose Ministry many are in the Lord, who are their crown, and glory, and rejoicing*; of whom thousands will say, *though they had ten thousand instructors, yet these were their Fathers*; for in Christ Jesus they have begotten them, through the Gospel: and a thousand pities it were, they should be exposed to the rage of unreasonable men, who would starve them out of the Pulpit, unless God should send them Ravens with food. In this digression I have only betrayed my affection, not at all my suspicion, of this or future Parliaments neglecting the Ministry; for I believe it will be owned for a National interest, *that a godly and able Ministry be encouraged, that so the Ordinances may be purely dispensed amongst us*; without this there can be no Reformation of Religion. Care too must be had concerning Heresie and Blasphemy, or there can be no publique Christian Religion. (I am fain to huddle things together) Shall

that Nation be called Heathen or Christian, that suffers men to preach and print, *That Jesus Christ is not God; that he is not Man? that the holy Spirit is not God; that the Scriptures are not the rule of Faith and Life: that the Sabbath day is no more to be taken notice of than every other day?* and many other abominable opinions: I am sorry to mention it, but some care must be had in it: *there must also be Reformation of life*, this is our concernment no lesse than the former, and must be as necessarily and carefully inspected, else there can be no *reall Reformation*: Swearers, Drunkards, Unclean persons, Sabbath-breakers must be punished, or there can be no *reall Reformation*; otherwise *Reformation* is a meer gingle: there are good Laws for these already, let them be put in practice, but I am too prolix. That Parliaments will take care of this, is most certain, he is strangely unacquainted with the temper of the Nation, that fears it in the least; yea, some there are that are so sensible of it, that fearing their *Reformation* should take cognizance of their unwarrantable behaviour, use their best wits, to argue *the Supremacy of Parliaments to be dangerous to the welfare of England*; of whom I will not speak in the very words of the Apostle, *They have reigned* (yet this I am bold to say, they would reign) *as Kings without us; and I would to God they did reign* (over their own disorderly and carnal affections) *that we also might reign together with them.*

Eightly, *'Tis the common Interest of the Nation, That our good Laws be preserved, and the Liberty of the subject duely regarded.* This must be taken for granted, I think it is no more to be questioned, but our *Representatives in Parliament must be the best Security can be taken for performance of these conditions, especially since they are so nearly concerned.* For example, The Adventurers for Ireland have some things of very great concernment to be done for them, Would they not think themselves highly befriended, and the best provided for that could be, if they might chuse so many of their own number as were convenient, to settle their Affairs for them? Could they doubt of having their dues, since the Trustees were themselves Adventurers, and would be sure to consult their own benefit, which they could not carry on without including the generality of Adventurers? 'Tis the very case in hand, as to matter of benefit, their case and ours as much the same, as one Adventurers with another; but it holds not as to matter of right, for they are but a party, and might do themselves kindnesses right or wrong.

Ninthly, *Indemnity and a general Amnesty and Oblivion, is the common Interest of the Nation.* And what can be conceived more compleat, than that this be performed and granted by those that represent every County, City, and considerable Burrough of England, and consequently every individuall man? What can be more honourable? What can be more safe? shall we not think our selves secure, unless we obtain their forgiveness, who would have scorned to have crept to

us if we had been bearen. I wonder at the degenerate and sordid spirit of some people; surely after a general Indemnity, Amnestie, and Oblivion granted by a full Representative, every man will be out of the Laws gunthor, for what is past: which we have no more reason to doubt of obtaining from the next that sits, then of enjoying our lives and estates under them, it will be their interest and wisdom to be friends with all they can, that they may have no enemies if it be possible.

Finally, *Settlement*. When the Supream Power is fallen into such hands wherein the whole Interest of the Nation is combined, such as are the fruit of our own choice, whose Interest it must needs be to do us all imaginable good; to allow us a *Christian Liberty of Conscience*: To root out Popery: To defend our Property: To ease us of Taxes: To advance our Trade: To make good the powers and priviledges of the Parliaments: To reform Religion: To secure the good Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject: To grant a compleat Indemnity, Amnestie, and Oblivion; and when, if it could be imagined, one Parliament would wrong us, we are sure it cannot be long-lived, having its period and bounds that it cannot passe; What should ail us but we should rest satisfied? what likelihood remains there of disturbance? I am sure cause there will remain none at all. Upon the whole I am certain I have made it evident;

That the Supream Authority being fully vested in Parliaments of ENGLAND successively, and frequently chosen by the Good People thereof, being free, and without check upon them, is an infallible means (under God) of preservation of the Nation, and the Rights and Interests thereof.

— I marry Sir, this would do well; but you write merrily, *when the skie falls we shall catch Larks.*

It is objected, as our Author hath it, whom I had now almost forgot, *That the PARLIAMENT intended nothing otherwise than utterly to subvert Parliaments.* Others there be of the same minde,
Plus

That we should never see Parliaments more in England: but that our Parliament, lately sitting, meant alwayes to be the Supream Power.

I answer, You might possibly have been mistaken; be not over hasty to conclude, you know whose bolt is soon shot, and you may peradventure be found peccant of speaking evil of the Rulers of the People; I cannot prophesie what they would do, but can easily foretel what would come on't, if they should have done as you say: but I must take leave to differ from you, if this be your judgment, upon better grounds (I believe) than any you have for your conceit, and a little time would have told the truth of the matter: I take them to know their business better than so; and however some are never satisfied of speaking evil enough of them, malice hath never yet had the impudence to brand them with the imputation of folly: And would it not well advance the wisdom of those Sages, utterly to deprive us of, and totally to subvert the very Constitutions of Parliaments; when but the interrupting, forcing, or imposing upon Parliaments, hath been of so dire and fatal consequence to the late King, and some body else? What could they expect but the general murmurs, seditions, and revolts of the people, of worse consequence than any yet have been to them, who, if they should be driven from *Westminster*, though they drew the *Ark* after them, should be perswaded with never so golden and glorious preences of Religion and Toleration; yet would not be gotten on, but as they should prick them forward, and would nevertheless be continually lowing and looking backward.

*Parliaments are the Darling of the People, who so toucheth them, toucheth the apple of their eye; and where-ever you see any thy of Parliaments, 'tis certainly in relation to Faction, or such things as they know well enough cannot hold water: Yea, I wonder at my Author, but that it is no wonder to take him tripping, who tels us, That it is the Interest of the Army to break the Parliament to pieces; that he should think them guilty of so little foresight, as to give the Army such advantage against them, greater than ever old Oliver could thew to do what he did. If it were the Interest of the Army to break the Parliament to pieces, (which no man under the degree of Bedlam can fanisie) could they contrive a better pretence? Then what my Author saith, will certainly be master of fact, That this Parliament had overthrowen the very Foundations of Parliaments; certainly if this were true, we should all throw up our Caps and hollow at this second rout: But you might have expected this at latter *Lammas*. The Parliament seeming resolutely bent for the good of the Nation; which every day appeared more and more, since this Paper hath been under my Pen. I make no question but they have made this observation, That *Honesty is the best Policy*. These have been, and yet are *sisting times*, such as few Ages have been acquainted with, so as those that have studied the most prudent proceedings,*
have

have been *non plus'd* in their resolutions how to steer themselves; and have not been able to ride it out, in those stormes and fluctuations that have beided our State: and I mistake my self wonderfully, if the most downright honest men of the Nation, do not appear ere long to be accounted the wisest; those who have scorned to speak or do anything against their consciences, and yet too did not altogether hold their peace; and therefore many of them were brow-beaten, and others as faithfull men as any in the world neglected, and disregarded; but *let them lift up their heads, for their Redemption draweth nigh*; they will be the men *whom God shall delight to honour in the sight of the Nations*; when those that have been *as the waves of the Sea*, carried to and fro with every winde or breath of pretences; those *Weather cocks* that have stood right with the *Winde* from any point of the *Compass*, though enough against their own Consciences; *merely as Time-servers*, to save their own *skates*, and get in *other mens* too into their fingers, would be glad to *shuffle in among the Company*: But their disguise is by this time so notoriously known, that they will not be hid under their *Sheep-clothing*. The Parliament could not but foresee this, and certainly nothing hath appeared but that they really intended to do honest things for us, which one would have thought had been good security for them against the course usage they have met with a second time; so this Objection and the Parliament are out of doors together. But it is further objected, that this is variable; though it should be so settled, yet it may not long hold here, we shall be liable to continual alterations.

I answer, *After it is thus settled, if it be altered, it must be either by force, or by free consent*: And there is no Government but is liable to both these, as much as this: It may be forced away by a greater power, or given away by free consent; this is true of any Government: And there is no Government can pretend to unchangeableness in this world: But this let me say, *No people are in like defence against Invasion, as those that are under Popular Governments*; I will not instance, I am sure I need not: As for intestine disturbances from the generality of a people, that is lesse to be feared than under *Monarchy*; for, as hath been proved, it must needs give best satisfaction. All the difficulty then will be as to matter of force in this Commonwealth, (as of any other in our case) *Whether the Army will not be more than Quarter-Master*: This is that that our Air hath rung the Echo of, *I'll warrant you the Army will turn out the Parliament before long, and then where is your Commonwealth you brag'd so much of, and those glorious dayes of Liberty you so much exalted in the foresight of*. Verily, it troubled me to hear this language; but I meant not to break my heart with that which I hoped should never otherwayes afflict me than as a *Reproach*: I should not know well what to think, if our Army were, as generally Armies are, *mad upon Rapine and Ruine*; but should hope we should be so much *English-men*,

as to sell our *Lives*, in company with our *Liberties*, at so dear a rate; that, if they were Conquerours, they should have little cause to twit our Survivours of their Conquest; if we could not carry on our Cause in despite of their Resistance. But our Army have professed a good will to our *Liberties* and *Privileges*, and did not long since bewail their Apostacy in subverting them, and did therefore restore this Parliament, besides whom there is no visible nor seeming face of Authority in *England*, to settle the Nation upon their just Rights and Freedom; surely, we will not believe our own eyes: It can never be thought that this Army should *return again to their vomit*, without some Witchcraft or strong operation and Inchantment of the *Jesuite*, to undertake the Government again; under which they so pitifully miscarried a while since; although the Northern Brigade gave very scurvie symptoms of being *Buffe-bodies*, and troublers of our *Israel*; supposing themselves wiser than the Parliament, who I am sure, are as far engaged as the best *He* of them all, to consult both the security of Themselves, the Army, and the Nation, against the Interest of the *Norman Race*, and to preserve the Interest of all the *Godly*, and *Liberty of Conscience*; but I hope the best part of the Army will not be fooled; but if they will make us their Slaves, we must endure till we find a remedy: but I am sure any Government is liable to this inconvenience, if they cannot master their Army; if their Army be *Knaves*, they will master them. As for giving away the powers of Parliaments, by Parliaments themselves, as their own Act and Deed; is beyond that little forecast that remains with me to fancy: Is it probable that a Beggar being put into the condition of a Gentleman, whereby he may commend his full satisfaction, should of his own choice be reduced into his former condition, it were certainly a sordid spirit where it should so happen: But if this could be supposed, yet how little doth it pretend to likelihood that the Representatives of *England*, men of noble and ingenuous souls, who have not formerly been known under any other notion, than that of Petitioners, as saith Mr. *Pryn*, and others, who could never get a Dole for themselves and us, but in a way of begging; and most commonly too when they got any things, sent away with a *bit* and a *knock*: Having now got their Supremacy vindicated by the dint of Sword, and set upon the Pinacle of Government, whereby they may oblige us their Servants, by the good turns they may do us; it being more blessed to give than to receive: I say, doth it come within the compass of Suspicion, that they should snap away their Supremacy, that they may be returned into their former capacity of being poor Knights of Westminster? I trow not: Nay, I conjecture, That if the Affairs of the Nation were ordered under the peculiar inspection of our Representatives in Parliament, so that they may do us those kindnesses, and that justice we may expect

expect from them; that in one seven years it would be impossible to chuse such a Parliament in the most free way of Election imaginable, that should betray their Power into the hands of any Monarch whatsoever; they would finde so many advantages, and so much sweet accruing by this way of a Parliaments Supremacy: But it is further objected, That a single Council is not so well consulted; it were better, and more to be relied on, that we had a Senate, and a great Assembly, or two Houses of Parliament. I answer in general, This Age is very pregnant of Projects; every body hath a sting at the State, and set their wits a working to hammer out a Government for England: They say, Every body that comes into Westminster-hall hath his Modell in his Pocket, what Government he thinks fittest for the Commonwealth. Whether this be true or false is no great matter; this I am sure is not unknown, that every Book-sellers Basket, and Shop, hath some New thing to shew for a Popular Government: Among the rest, a few dayes since I cast mine eye upon a Paper, that had for its Bust, this title; *A Modell of a Democratical Government*. A trusty Trojan he is no doubt, and an excellent Democracy he propounds; no lesse than two Councils will serve his turn; that he may be sure to be one of the wiser sort: *A Senate*, and an, &c. The Senate to consist of the Parliament-men, *loosely sitting*; who should chuse to themselves so many as shall compleat their number, three hundred: Every year, one hundred to go off, and themselves to chuse an hundred to fill up the three hundred: and these to have the sole power of debating and propounding Laws: — Rare Invention upon my word, and a gallant exchange for Monarchicall Slavery, and very well worth the Bloud and Treasure that hath been so prodigally expended: I should not much grudge at a little expence of time, so I did thereby a little ken this well-instructed Scribe, that I might know him another time from a Black sheep: However, I hold his Modell not worth the whistling after, but deserves to be hissed out of countenance, and the Ingenuity of the Author to be rewarded after the Desert of a Libell: And let me adde this, as a piece of my minde, Those endeavours that make the greatest noise, and most specious pretences for Liberty and Freedom, and promise the greatest Refinings and Reformation of Government; which yet in themselves tend directly to enslave and oppress us; those are to be had in the greatest detestation and abhorrence, and ought more severely to be censured, than those others that deal more plainly with us, and oblige us by their Sovereign union, to be their Vassals: For, while they promise us Liberty, they themselves are the Bondslaves of Corruption, and would entangle us again in the yoke of bondage: But if nothing lesse than a Senate, and a great Council can serve the turn, — (which I will believe when any body gives me good reason for) I shall immediately joyn my Forces with those publick spirited men, in
their

their Petition of July 6. transcribed from Mr. *Harrington's Oceana*; a Work which I greatly esteem, and a Person I very much honour for his Labours about *Government*: And really, I am sometimes almost angry with my self, that I am forced, to dissent from his opinion of a *Senate*: I think I have hunted his works over and over, to finde out the utmost of his reason for a *Senate*, which is not so swaying with me as to over-rule me in this matter; but I know 'tis no new thing to Mr. *Harrington* to meet with Dissenters from his Judgement; and I doubt not he will pardon me; since I will assure him I shall be willing to learn of him, and shall think my self honoured to be his Scholar; for in very deed if I erre, 'tis through *ignorance*, not *wilfulness*; that I differ from him, is of constraint, not of choice; for I am so well informed of my self, that I should not seek occasion of difference with him whom I very well know to be more then my match: With *Leviathan* then if that be it at which Mr. *Harrington* so much wonders, I must acknowledge my opinion to be firm for a *Single Assembly*, as it hath ever been, notwithstanding, what I have seen in Mr. *Harrington*, or any other to the contrary: The greatest matter I have observed in Mr. *Harrington* for a *Senate*, is that of dividing and choosing; and that of Faction in a *Single Assembly*, Which for ought that I perceive (though it be the most that can be said) availeth little to the businesse. Let me state the Common-wealth into 20. persons with Mr. *Harrington*; why should the Cake be divided between 14. and 6. in two parcels, and not among the 20. into twenty parcels: Why should the six have so much share as the fourteen? is this an equal Common-wealth? Our work would be done by halves, and there would be strange dividing in the end I fear: But this must not run upon all four, there is a mystery in the businesse, I cry you mercy: and as to faction and scrambling, I do not foresee it, unless: this be faction, *A generall agreement about the Cake, how it shall be divided, and parcelled out among the people*; else 'tis a Paradox to me how twenty persons should disagree together, and yet have perfect harmony, by an intercourse of spirits, when the intercourse of their persons in counsel fails by dividing 6 from the 14. would they agree better apart then together about dividing this Cake? I strange at the mystery of this scrambling; here is neither King nor House of Peers to scramble with; if there were a King there might be some reason for halving, and the Popular Assembly might be given to scramble for the other half that was kept from them: But what reason of scrambling, when the whole is in the single Assembly? unless for failing they must scramble among themselves; the major of the 20. with the minor of the 20. So by the same rule, may the major of the 14. with the minor of the 14. and the major of the 6. with the minor of the 6. and the 14. and 6. scramble with one another:

another: It is 'frivolous to think that the 14. in England, like little babies, would be pleased with this Rattle, of *Choo'ing*; when it is evident it must be *Hob'ons* choice, *his* or *none*: and as I have been cheated my self when a Boy, and thought it priviledge enough to choole, the *Wags* have cut the greatest piece of an *Apple*, and *effred* me the Remainder, and bid me take that or choose: which proved an *Apple* of Contention; and presently down goes our *Apple*, and we fall to *Boxing* to end the quarrel: Which is most like to fall out here, when the *Peetogative* Tribe do not like what the *Senate* proposes; how shall they help themselves? The *Senate* must go to dividing again, which it may be, shall please no more than before; which if it end without *Boxing* will do very well, But let us consider again, the whole 20. are chosen by the people, these together would scramble and be factious; carry on a Party, or share places of Prophet and Honour. Well, what benefit accrues by the Division, (unlesse because of the division, the 14. will be against the 6. right or wrong, as is something probable) if 4. of the 6. be for something to be propeled as to Faction, or Scrambling, 8. or 9. of the 14. will not fail to *ballot* for them, if they be corrupt, they will be corrupt still; if they be filthy, they will be filthy still; 'tis not two Houses that will hinder Faction, or scrambling if they incline to it: 'tis not the praying 6. of the 14. to go apart, that will make them either the honest or wiser; or will make them ever a jore lesse mind themselves and their private interest, and more the publique, or be more mannerly at the publique Table, and give the best from themselves to decency, and common interest: But put case that the 6. be over reasoned by 1. or 2. of their own number for something that before they thought not to be the common interest of the Nation, yet the Major part of the 14. (supposed by Mr. *Harrington* to be the least wise of the 20.) are like to persist in the more common and first received opinion; being stripped of the benefit of hearing matters fully beated among themselves *pro* and *con*, which in a single assembly they receive the benefit of; where hearing what any man can say, their judgements are fully informed, and they finde cause many times to alter a prepossest opinion, for who so speaks the best reason, may expect to be followed with the greatest resentments; who (as Mr. *Harrington* hath it I think against himself) will be sure to lead the herd, as Stags of the largest heads; for while the 6. discoufing and arguing one with another, shew the eminency of their parts; the 14. discover things they never thought on, and are cleared in divers truths which formerly perplexed them; but this I hope is nor so well performed, while the 14. are shut out of their debates and conferences; or should not these 6. better inform those 14. if they were but one single assembly. But again, the 6. shall Debate, but not Resolve; the 14. shall Resolve, but not Debate: if the 14. meddle with the

business of the six, ruine is consequent, (so saith Mr. *Harrington*, the 14. of *Athens* debating was their ruine: so *Rome*, the 14. debating caused her stormes; though it seems it fares not so ill with *Venice*, whose 6. sometimes make bold to Resolve: and *Carthage* is reprehended by *Aristotle*, because her 6. Propounded and sometimes Resolved too, her 14. sometimes Resolved and debated too: We do not want examples out of Mr. *Harrington*, of the enterprising of the 6. with the 14. and the 14. with the 6. both which are of such dismal consequence; neither could there be wanting sad examples of the like nature in *England*, if ever the Senate take place here: I doubt we should follow the fate of *Athens* and *Rome*. Would our *Grand Council* endure to loose the benefit of debating among themselves, that all their communication should be yea yea, nay nay, and that too only in dumb shews; the genius and natural disposition of *England* would never away with it, a Nation that cannot endure to be tongue-tied, her meanest Assemblies not sparing, but delighting to exercise their speeches; and certainly, the temper and constitution of a people are very considerable to Governments, which are to be made for men, and not men for them.

If these silent items of the minde be passable with some stupid heavy mouthed people, yet will they not take at all, with such a prompt and ready people as the *English*, upon whom I never desire to see them obtruded; yea, but should it be forced upon them by some sole Legislator; would it not debase the Spirits of the Nation? Parliament men should be bold as Lions, to speak freely their mindes, and to enter their Protestations if need be of dissent and dislike; and not be obliged to sneak their mindes into a box, as if they were afraid or ashamed to speak out. This would be of very ill importance in the *Grand Council*, and yet all this the benefit of two Houses: it was counted a great oppression that the King and Lords had a *Negative Voice*, and could hinder the Commons, which answered to the Prerogative tribe, as that was the Interest of the people) from what good they would do for the Nation, and yet the Commons were as free to propose and debate, as their Lordships; and I mistake exceedingly if those that propound, have not the better half of the Cake, if the other can only dissent, and are bound up from debating, or giving their reasons of dissent. Nay, how unreasonable it is that 1050. men should give their suffrages, without so much as the benefit of a Jury, going together to consult and debate about it among themselves, after only a meer Oration in praise of the matters propounded; when Mr. *Harrington* supposeth them to be none of the wisest, and therefore deserve to be better informed, before they proceed: and to what purpose such a goodly number should come together, to play at blindmans buff, I cannot imagine, I shall never expect

expect the interest of England to be made good, though ten thousand and fifty should come to be of our prerogative Tribe, if they shall be like that great multitude, that the most part of them knew not wherefore they were come together; for so they must needs be, if all must keep silence: Neither will the Printing and Publishing of the Resolves of the Senate before it comes to the Ballot, mend the matter much, but mar it rather in my sorry judgement; every body hath the benefit of reading that which is Printed, and may by that reason be as well informed as themselves: but 'tis a sorry information that we can make to our selves by our own insight, and the advantage of occasional meetings, in comparison of that clearness of reason that convinceth in so grave an Assembly; but I did not mean to contend, only to object. I hasten, We have hitherto considered the Common-wealth to the number of twenty chiefly, they will differ something it may be under a multiplication.

Saith Mr. Harrington, Aphorif. 70. The popular assembly in a Commonwealth, may consist of too few, but can never consist of too many,

72. If a popular Assembly consist of so few, and so eminent persons, as are capable of any orderly debate, it is good for nothing but to destroy the Commonwealth.

73. If the popular assembly consist of so many, and so mean persons for the greater part as are not capable of debate, then this defect must be helped by a Senate.

74. The reason of a Senate is, that a popular assembly rightly constituted, is not capable of any prudent debate.

76. A popular Assembly without a Senate cannot be wise.

109. As the soul of man can never be in the body of a Beast, unless God make a new creation, so neither the soul and freedom natural to democracy in any other form whatsoever, then that only of a Senate and a popular Assembly.

Verily, this last is smart, but wounds not much; the great matter is, That the popular Assembly being the interest of mankind, cannot be sufficiently secured, but by such a number, as are incapable of any orderly debate.

To which I return, That such a number as cannot understand, that cannot make out to one another the benefit of mankind, are too many to make good the interest of mankind in a way of reason, and if in any particular they hit upon it, 'tis more by hap than any good cunning. Therefore, I believe, that so many, and no more, as may among themselves, be well informed of their own and the peoples interest (being universally the same) are the only men, and number of men, to preserve the interest of mankind. When a fire breaks out, 'tis the interest of the whole neighbourhood to quench it, but they may be too many to be useful, therefore the supernumeraries had better be at home, than they be no hindrance:

That

That may be the interest of the whole Nation, that doth not call for so great numbers to keep it on foot, therefore those that may be well enough spared let them keep at home, too many are troublesome, and stand in one anothers light. Why 1050. and no less, to look to the interest of England, besides 300. to be the light of England? Or, why the light of mankind, must be separated from the interest of mankind, is very dark to me. If the one body be all *eye*, where is its *tasting* and its *feeling*? if the other be all *tasting* and *feeling*, where is its *seeing*? this is not altogether so good contrivance, as where two half-blind Coach-horses are so placed, that this may see on the one side, and that on the other, though they can scarce see each other, their blind sides being next together.

The people, saith Mr. Harrington, can feel, but they cannot see: well then, the light of this Body is the Eye, that is, the Senate; if then the Eye be at Westminster, and the Body be at St. Pauls Church, for a little place cannot hold 1050. men; I perswade my self this body must be full of darkness. Why 1050. pray? a lesse number was formerly thought enough to assert the interest of mankind, against the light of mankind, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Judges to boot, which was the interest of some men besides; when yet the Commons were thought to have, and were found to have the light of mankind in them too, yea, and have so well asserted and made good the interest of mankind, against those lights and private interests, that leaves no man great cause to except against their number. Why 500. or thereabouts being equally distributed for elections according to the interest of every part of England, should not as well preserve the interest of mankind, as 1050. especially when hereby the Body hath its eyes in its head, hath in its self the light of mankind and the interest of mankind can see and feel both, I know not? And unless we should put out our eyes, because some say, they that see best, hear worst sometimes, and they that hear worst, see best oft times, the losse of one sense, being the increase of another; and so because the Great Counsel is blinde, it should feel the better; or the Senate, because it doth not feel so much, must see the better; unless this be good reason, I am bound to think best of A single Assembly.

But say, The Senate is the light, reason or learning of mankind: and how easie it is for reason and learning to delude sense, let any one imagine. It is true, there are some things so sensibly certain, that they are not to be over ruled by any shew of reason, but reason seldom busieth its self about these; nor are these the things that so frequently occur unto the consideration of our REPRESENTATIVES, if these were the things, there would be the lesse necessity for the light of mankind; the reason of a Senate being to debate hard matters, things that are not so liable to sense: This difficulty will yet remain, Whether, since Mr. Harrington saith, a Senate alone will not be honest,

it be like to be ever the honestest hereby, while by their *light of reason and learning*, it will be no hard matter, in many things, to dazzle the weak sight of that vast *Animal*, if both parties do at all agree; whereby the benefit to result will be this only, *that iniquity be established by a Law*, by a more seeming or pretended *reason and interest*: *Sence* doth not much foresee the benefit of a *Law to be made*, though it feels the good of a *Law that hath been sometime in force*; therefore it will be no hard matter for *seeming reason* to deduce *common sence*: This *great Council*, wherein (it may be) some may be found to have scarce *common sence*, had need to be well instructed, better than a *Senate* can inform them by an *Oration or Preachment*, where every ones tale is good till anothers is told, or else they are like enough to do they know not what; for, I doubt me, every man hath not a light within him, to a certain knowledge of *good or evil*, the *interest or prejudice of the State*, that without any more ado, we should be left to do as God shall direct us: Let me put a case, *to 50* are chosen for the *Great Council*, and *300* for the *Senate*, according to Mr. Harringtons free way of Election, for fear of fixing any in opposition. The *300* propose, *That CHARLES STUART be made King of England*; I may suppose this, for Mr. Harrington saith in effect, *The Senate will not be honest if they can chuse; and a King might not do much amiss with these two Councils*: Well, what will the sence and interest of the *1050* say to this; supposing there must be no debating this business there, but every one must put their minds in a box, without telling tales; there be some in the world that would lay two to one their sence would soon inform them that it is their interest to make him King: I leave the Reader to a free judgement — once more: the *300* would seem wiser, and in their grave judgments propound to the *1050* to settle some *Sectary* (as we call them) *Lord Archbishop, and Sole Legislator of England*, and signifie to them, *that it is the National Interest so to do*, without debating the matter, but away presently to the Balloting box. I conceive their sence would hardly convince them, *that either the one or the other were their interest*: the sence of people in many things is a kind of prepossession; they must be soundly convinced here if they believe anything but what they thought before, be it true or false: but in other things they are more facile and ductile, and not so hard to be imposed on.

If they are prepossessed with an error, then the work is done to hand; 'tis but proposing, and 'tis presently resolved. If they are prepossessed with their true Interest, if the contrary be not of necessity to the design of the *Senate*, it may lie still till better leisure; but if it be of absolute necessity, I hope it will be held fit that this be introduced at once, and not committed to chance, to be wrought out by little and little according to the sence of the people; *The Senate may easily*

H

over-

over-reach them, in an error wherein they are prepared for them : this might be remedied by a full and free debate, if it be capable of remedy ; if they be prepossessed of their right, which is not with the pleasure of the *Senate* to suffer, though its contrary be not of absolute necessity ; they can over-reach them here, by delay, and not proposing it, or it may be circumvent them some way unseen : What is of absolute necessity for the *Sentes* turn, is cared for before by the sole *Legislator*, so that we shall not stirre their humours about that ; and how many other things will fall under the consideration of the *Senate*, and under the *Ballot* of the popular Assembly, wherein they shall be so far from being prepossessed, that it may be the major part of the great Assembly shall be wholly strangers to them ; and how easily to be over-reached in these, by following those Stags of the largest heads, I cannot but muse now and then. And this I observe, *That men generally are more apt to mistake the common Interest, then to understand it rightly ; and are commonly more stiff and inflexible in their errors than they suck in by tradition ; then assured and confident of some Truths they hold, which yet are of easie demonstration ; and will yeeld no small advantage against them.* All which are cogent reasons with me, that the Counsel wherein the Interest of the Common-wealth consists, ought not to be without debate. Upon which considerations, if it be possible to constitute such a Counsel as may enough make good the Interest of the people, and yet preserve its own eye-sight ; (not knowing why one, and the greatest Counsel should wink, while the other takes aim ;) I say, if there can be such an one, as may preserve the benefit of debating, and arguing among themselves in a way of prudence, and preserve the Peoples Interest too ; hereby those inconveniences will be taken off, that must needs arise from two distinct Bodies : If then the *House of Commons* were sufficient for the light and Interest of a particular party uppermost, to grapple with ; when yet by the swarms of petty Burgesses the Interest of that *House* was made as much as possible for the *Court* ; and if they would have betrayed the people, or could have been seprate from the Interest of the people, they might have had what recompense they could hope for ; have yet made good the Interest of the people with advantage against all opposition. What reason is there then, when the stream that drove so hard to turn their Mill, but could not, is diverted ; that when there remain no temptations at all upon them, to desert the *Common Interest*, that any one should fancy they would turn *Cat in Pan* ? Why should any think they would make good our Interest, when as things went then, one would rather have thought they durst not do what they did : And yet now when they shall hardly dare to do otherwise then make good our Interest ; and nothing in the way to

terrifie

terrific them for doing it, and it shall be their own Interest so to do, and when they shall be so equally distributed, as to take in the whole Interest of the Nation alike; that now they should desert the *Common Interest*, and must now be an *inconsiderable number*, and not sufficient to maintain it; is to me such a fond imagination, as I have hardly patience to repeat it.

Well, notwithstanding Mr Harrington voucheth these two Councils of *Legislators*, and warrants them sound wind and limb, I dare not take them upon his word, for I expect a halt, *that the great Council would fall to debating; and then saith he, ruine is consequent;* and if the *Prerogative* Tribe be suilen, and will not jog on, the *Senate* must not only Propound but Resolve too, with *Carthage* and *Venice*: And then as Mr. Harrington saith, *If she that divides must choose too, it had been little worse for the other, in case she had not divided at all, but kept the whole cake to her self, in regard that being to choose, she divided accordingly.* Wherefore if the *Senate* have any more power then to divide, the *Commonwealth* can never be equal. The Reader will observe what hath been said, even against Mr. Harringtons *Senate*, the most rational that hath been proposed: If any other that I have met withall, should be examined, they would appear an hundred fold worse then this, admitting such absurdities, and *Slavery* as would make one mad to think of them; I have done. But must give my suffrage for a single Council, that thing called in *England* formerly the *House of Commons*; 'tis that our Nation is well acquainted with, and extremely jealous least it should be robbed of; and is without exception, the best Government in the World, being disburthened of the *King* and *Lords*; and doth not want a way to help it self, in any thing wherein a *Senate* is of good use, making choice of *Committee* for this purpose, who * can with more judgement finde out those men that are the light of Mankind, then the *rude Multitude*, * The whose choice I conceit would put little difference between the wis. *Parliament*, some of the *Senators*, and many of those they returned for the *Great ment. Council*; which *Committees* (for all what my Lord *Archeb* hath said to the contrary) are capable of such Reformati^{ons}, as shall render them every manner of way as useful as a *Senate*; and yet not be obnoxious to its Exceptions. And as to matter of Faction it holds no water; or if it do, *the remedy is worse then the disease*; and would encrease the Malady. Wherefore upon the whole there remains but one important Objection, which I confesse I cannot obviate; and my Lord *Archeb* hath Knockt the nail on the head;

That a single Assembly is like a Game at Football:

And truly, it is not fit *we should all be fellows*: And therefore some who think themselves, more Honourable, more Wise, or more Religious than the rest; I wonder not, they think much to stand in the crowd, else I think few know why they promote it, unless to shew their reading, or others, as Mr. Rogers conceives, *That the Nation may be put into the sister method for a single Person*. Such an Assembly as I have spoken of, being frequently chosen, I suppose will with most reason do the Nation right: wherein I think it may suffice that the people preserve their Right of frequent Election; without any necessity that all of the former Parliament be debarred of sitting in the next following. For, if any man or men, have so well deserved of his Countrey as to be more then ordinarily serviceable for their good, I do not know why they should be disabled to shew their thankfulness, by choosing them again if they think fit. In this I agree with Mr. Rogers, though I understand not what Oligarchy he would have; wherein he is as dark, as if he were all Hebrew; at which one might venture divers Interpretations. Mr. Harrington ruleth me, where he saith, *Give us good Lawes, good Orders, and they shall make us good men: Good Orders are the very foundation of Government: and then give us as good men as you can with respect had to those Lawes and Orders: As good men as you can, but by no means break Orders to pick and choose*. They that would set up a Scripture Government, or the Kingdome of Christ in England, by overthrowing our natural Birth-rights, are mightily to be pitied, but little to be trusted: 'Tis dangerous trusting good men too farre, they may seem good to day, and prove bad to morrow: We have seen sad instances of trusting good men. Who would have thought old Oliver had not had the spirit of the Cause, and that he would not have carryed on the Refined Interest? But alas! alas! how shall we know the men that will continue faithful? And if any think or say with Peter to Christ, *Though all forsake thee, yet will not we*: they know not how soon their faith may fail them, and may do well to remember, that High-places are slippery places, and do enlenger Backsliding; who unless they have given over to pray — *lead us not into temptation*, would be very fearful of falling into this snare. The best men prove bad Legislators, if trusted with, and continued in Arbitrary power: And this is one evil I have seen under the Sun; we call that good which is most like us, of our own party, or faction, and humour: but whoever are truly good will be best pleased to be prescribed by Rules, which may keep them within compasse, if they should fall into an hour of temptation, that though their Grace should faile, yet our faith should not faile, while we know, that though they would, yet they cannot hurt us.

I have

I have done what I designed, only have transgressed my intended bounds and limits; I hold it no good manners to venture too far, to offer my thoughts about Government, knowing very well those whom it concerns to Settle us, understand their business better than I can teach them; and verily, if some had not been overbush in Print, I had kept all this in my Breast, and not disturbed the publick with it; let this provocation plead my excuse. Only by the way, I do a little wonder at some who are so purely popular, that they are angry at a *Council of State*, for fear of *Usurpation*; but tis like they fear where no fear is.

I had made it my request to the Parliament (which I believe they would have well received) to state us such qualifications for Members to be chosen into the next Representative, as we might have ventur'd our All with them; wherein I had deliver'd my opinion against admitting any of the late *Kings party*, without fearing to fix them in opposition against us, being already fixed in such bitter opposition against a Commonwealth, that they would not believe the benefit of it, though they did a little feel it, much less would they believe it at the first; but should all manner of men be promiscuously admitted into the next Parliament, many would be brought in, who when they were there would undoubtedly conclude, *we had wonderfully beguited them, and had put out their eyes that they should grinde in our mill*, and would be confident, *we called them in only to make sports*: wherefore they would not fail to lay their hand upon the pillars of the Commonwealth, and bow themselves with all their might, if possible, too pull the House upon our heads, though they themselves were ruin'd by the fall.

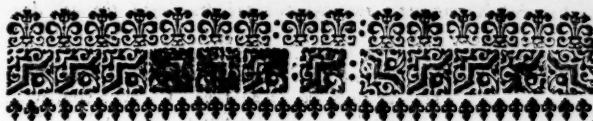
Some other things I had humbly propos'd to them in reference to the next Representative, tending to the security of the Government, of the Good Cause we have been contending for, and Liberty of Conscience: all which I doubt not, but they would have put in practice, or have taken better care for all: and then when this Representative had found the want of a Senate, I should have submitted my judgement to theirs, who I doubt not would have had every jot as much foresight as the People of Venice, and if they had found the want, would have call'd for the remedy, without the help of a LORD SOLE LEGISLATOR.

I have done, and was indeed since this unluckie change, resolv'd wholly to omit this Argument of a Senate, which was sent to the Presse a week since, the whole being intended for the Parliament, who are since perfidiously forced, judging it little boot to plead for this or that way of a Commonwealth, when we are like to go without this or that either, and be ruled by meer will and pleasure; but observing some endeavours for this Senate and Popular Assembly by

HOOK or by **C**ROOKE who think that **L**AMBERT shall deserve 20000. l. per annum during his life to settle it: I am over-ruled to publish my Exceptions against it, and submit them to censure: however, expect not what I propound should be Seried by such Juglers, who but yesterday cryed *Hosanna to the Supreme Authority, the Parliament*, and now nothing will serve but, *away with them, away with them, let them be crucified.*

I had prepared (besides my *Adresse to the Parliament*) to close my Discourse with *Addresse to the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent, Baptized, Protectorians, Army, and the whole body of the Nation*; quieting them towards a *submission to the Supremacy of Parliament*, chiding them heartily and severally, as I saw occasion. But now the Army becoming the sole Masters of Reason, I dare make no *Addresses* but to themselves, wherein yet I shall hardly flatter them, as most of themselves did the Late Protector, and betrayed him *with a kisse.*

TO



TO THE
 A R M Y,
 THE
 Supream Authority
 O F
 E N G L A N D.

High and mighty Masters,

IT hath been in every bodies mouth, *The Parliament were your Drudges, that you were twice or thrice about to discard them since they sat last: No doubt, they spake it (most of them) as they would have it. Well, you have broken this Parliament; yes, you have broken your selves and us too, ye have turned all topsie-turvie. 'Tis true of you, These are they that have turned the world up side down: you have made England, Scotland, and Ireland a Chaos, without form and void; and, I doubt, your Omnipotency will never speak the word for such a Creation, as any honest man shall say, when he hath looked upon it, that it is very good: You may pardon me, since you have put all out of order, if you have disordered my thoughts, so that I observe no method, when all is without any method among us: I tell you, This action is the most faithlesse, senselesse, bootlesse, ruinous Act that ever appeared upon the Stage*

of

of the world : the most false-hearted and traiterous : the most ridiculous and insignificant : the most rash and fruitlesse : the most dangerous and destructive adventure that ever men took in hand. Oh my soul, enter not thou into their secrets ! nor let any honest man say a confederacy with them ; let them associate themselves, they shall be broken to pieces, God will finde them out in due time. I beseech you, what do you mean ? are ye Christians, and yet will not be men ? To passe by all former Obligations, did you not the other day bewail your Apostasie, that you had wandred from your GOOD OLD CAUSE ? did you not tell us, You took shame to your selves, and remembered from whence you were fallen, and repented, and would do your first works ? and therefore finding that God blessed you all along till you forced the Long Parliament, but after that made you labour as in the fire, and no good came of all your after actions ; therefore you assured them, that now they should sit freely, and you would strengthen their hands, and be their Servants. Is not all this truth in these very words, or to this effect, and much more if I had leisure to repeat ? but it is fresh in every bodys mouthes and mindes, though you have forgot it : and are you not past shame now ? Mut we bewail your Apostasie now, as fearing since you are fallen away after being enlightened, it will be hard to restore you again by repentance ; especially since ye have tasted of the powers of this world.

But besides this, did you not every mothers childe of you Officers, did you not take your Commissions from the Parliament, and one by one promise your obedience : Yes, that most faithfull and gifted Brother Colonel Parker, promised when he received his Commission at Mr. Speakers hands, That he would not only promise them to be faithfull and obedient, but they should see by his actions that he would be a true Servant to them and the Commonwealth. Yea, Lambert himself was the greatest stickler for the Parliament (God forgive him, for what ends I know not) and yet these men act like as they had given the Parliament Commissions, and turn them out, whom they just now promised so seriously to obey ; a Turk, a Heathen would have scorned this falshood and basenesse : What, not to be faithfull to our trust ! O faithlesse and perverſe generation !

And to this, that flattering and insinuating Petition and Representation but the otherday, wherein they so sadly bemoan themselves, that the Parliament should so sharply rebuke their humble servants, their faithfull servants, that means nothing but to petition in a peaceable manner ; where they artificially conceal their intentions for a General, only desire that Fleetwoods Commission may be renewed : other things they petition for (we understand what your petitioning signifies) some to insinuate into the favour of the Militia ; others to secure the Government of the Nation in the hand of the Officers of the Army ; it is so in

in the effect; and then most Saint-like, promise *all to be well-meaning men, to be Servants to the Parliament*; and the most sweet expressions imaginable. But we have tried them that say, *they are Saints, they are the faithfull Servants of the Common wealth, but are not*, and have found them Lyars. Who, Lambert put the Northern Brigade to petition for a General? no such matter, he perswaded them (*good man*) all he could against it; yes, Ile warrant you: And yet the *Fifth Monarchy men*, (the mad ones of them) think now *Christs Kingdom* goes on amain, and flock down in Shoales to *Wallingford house*, to make way for *Christs* coming, who may be coming for ought that I know, as he saith, — *When the Son of Man comes, shall he finde faith upon the earth?* Upon my word, these were fit to live and reign with *Christ* a thousand years, who cannot keep Faith an hundred dayes. Let me say with the Psalmist, *Help, Lord, for the Godly man ceaseth, for the faithfull fail among the Children of men; they speak vanity every one with his neighbour; with flattering lips, and with a double heart do they speak.*

'Tis a most senselesse, ridiculous, and insignificant action; you pleasure your Enemies, and make your selves and us, the whole Nation, a scorn, a derision, and a Proverb in the earth. In the beginning of this book I have been dealing with a Malignant Impostor, whose whole businesse was nothing else but to make you break the *Parliament* to serve his designs; for I tell you, they fear their Wildom, more then your power. Are the *Cavaliers* your friends? are ye bewitched to believe them, and to slight your old true friends; I thought I had not needed to say much in the beginning of the book to answer that treacherous *Cavalier*; I thought it was enough to tell you whose was the plot, to perswade you to break the *Parliament*. But before I could bring my book to light, ye are cheated into a belief of his Imposture. Ah me! are ye not proud of your wisdom? Whose is this Invention? who put you upon this exploit? Oh sad! Will you please your enemies, and grieve your friends. Know him or them that put you upon this grosse piece of folly, and avoid them. We that put you upon calling back this *Parliament*, and encouraged you in the day of your straights, and told every body we met, how honest the *Army* would be, now they understood themselves: that they would stand by the *Parliament*, while they did settle the Nation upon the foundations of righteousness and truth: We, even we, are laughed to scorn; and I must speak to you in the words of *Job*: Ye have shamed this day the faces of all your servants, that have saved your lives, (that have saved your credits, which should be as dear as life, and that have appeared for you in the day of your distresse) in that you love your Enemies, and hate your Friends; for you have declared this day, that you regard neither Princes nor Servants; for this day I perceive that it pleaseth you well, though all we dye, so *Abalom* live. We know
not

not how to look any body in the face; though we thought we had done well when we appeared for you, against your enemies. But every one of us get away by stealth, as people that are ashamed steal away when they flee in battle; — Not only so, but you have made your selves the most absolute Changelings in the world; It is a Proverb beyond Seas, to expresse any uncertainty thus, — As certain as England.

Our Agent Lockhart is laughed at, when he comes to treat with the Spanish Favourite: *What, a peace with you! who are your Masters? you have as many Masters as Moons: Go make peace among your selves, and then talk of peace with us.*

Ambassadors here in England know not who to make their Addresses to; and have said, *What shall we treat? we know not who to trust to: You will have new Masters within this six weeks, and then we must begin again.* This is greatly for your honour; tis your interposing hath begot all these changes; still as we have been settling, you have broken us to pieces, this is all your wit, you mend the matters wisely; if we will have any Government to hold, better heads then yours must consult it. I am loth to think 'tis your design to unsettle us; if it be, *God help your heads*, you will feel the smart of it in time, as well as we; you are good Souldiers, but bad Statesmen; professing your selves wise, ye are become fools: Be not wise over-much, nor take too much upon you; ye have miscarried over and over; will you be doing again? I dread the consequence of this hair-brain'd Action; and there are such fools in the World, though they should be brayed in a Mortar, yet their folly will not depart.

Well, but the Parliament must out; Why, what evil have they done? for which of all their good works do you stone them? Have they not gone through good report and evil report for the good of the Nation? Was not their hand in all that was done for the asserting the Nations Birth-rights? and were they not carefully providing for us when you first turned them out? It was an abuse put upon them by those that turned them out, to say, *They intended to perpetuate themselves*, that so they * might Colour their Usurpation and Tyranny. Out of your own mouths I judge you, you evil servants; remember your Declaration, wherein you bewailed your Apostasie. Did they not return to their duties again, to serve the publick if possible, and forget all your former abuses? And did they not set themselves seriously to work for the Nations welfare? and did they not do as much as men could do, that found things in so much distraction, to reduce us to better Orders? Yea verily, they did as much as mortal men could do. Yea, did they not discountenance some men more then there was absolute necessity of, to give you content? yea, did they not get you a whole Tears Tax to be paid in Three Months, and a Three Months Tax more to be paid in Three Weeks, and all to keep fair with you, and to pay you

* Cromwell
and his
Creatures.

your due ? Did they not prepare an Act for one hundred thousand pounds *per personem* to be immediately levied for you, and Ordered to sell every thing almost to pay you your Arrears ? and thereby drew an *odium* upon themselves, more then ever any other Parliament would do since you first turned them out. And yet though men grumbled at these Charges, yet generally hoped the Parliament would make them amends by doing good things for them. Yea, did not the Parliament give them new Commissions, whom the Protector had cashiered, without respect of persons, if they were judged Faithful ; as *Lambert* his own self, though a worthy Member of Parliament gave good reason to the contrary ; all without respect to their opinions ; dealing their respects without partiality, hoping hereby to oblige their affections : Yea, did they not encourage all that did the Nation service, and share their Rewards without distinction to all that deserved it, to *Duckenfield* and *Creed*, who deserve a thousand times more the reward of a *Rope* for their late Treason, then a Chain of Gold for their *Cheeshire* Service ? Oh ungrateful unthankful Monsters of Mankind ! could it be believed, so much dissingenuity should be harboured in English breasts ? Nay, I pray hartily, had you any reason to mistrust the Parliament ? no more then I have to mistrust my own heart : Have they not been embarked all along in the same common cause with us ? is it not as much their Interest as yours to consult the security of the Nation, and all that have been the Parliaments friends ? Yea, is not their life bound up in your life ? They could not design to ruine the Army, but they must ruine themselves : You were and are as necessary by your Forces to defend us, as their Counsel to give forth such Orders as may make us happy being so defended ; and enable us to maintain you as our Guards : When as through want of good advice, if the Commonwealth sink, (as undoubtedly it must without better Counsellors) ye may go and defend Jamaica ; here will be no use of you. Certainly, the Parliament cannot be without you, he is besides himself that thinks they can ; they could no more settle a Commonwealth without your Arms, then you can without their Heads ; neither could they secure themselves, but they must secure you ; nor make any Lawes that should be bad for you, but they must be bad for themselves ; which every body thinks they would be as careful in as they could, and no body doubts but they could consult it as well as any company of men that ever were in England : Yea, and say, I said so. You must call them back again if ever you make any work of it against the Norman Race.

Go your way then, think upon it : What have you done ? certainly, the most barbarous, savage, and inhumane action that ever was done : it seems, you neither fear God nor reverence man ; the most brutish, childish, wilful, headlong, giddy Undertaking that ever was but in practice. And *Wo, oye wo* indeed to the Nation whose
 I 2 Prince

Prince is a Child: And no lesse so to that Commonwealth whose Rulers are Children. Yet more, tis the most bootlesse, rash and fruitlesse Enterprise that ever was introduced by men that could pretend to a design: Good now, *What benefit did you propound to your selves, or the State? Do you propound no end of your actions? do you not think before hand, what you shall speak or do? But do you in that very same hour whatever is upon your Spirits?* I doubt, if you have not thought of it beforehand, it will hardly be given you so suddenly how to answer me aright; What, do you overturn, overturn, overturn; and take no care for the Nation, nor your selves; what we shall eat, or what we shall drink; or whether we shall have any cloths to our backs? *Is this Heabenish?* Sure our Lord never taught you this Lesson, to understand him after this rate: Do you fly to us, *Be filled, be warmed, be clothed?* Will this do the work? Do you design the benefit of the Nation, by disturbing our Settlement, by obstructing our Trade, by beggering the Nation, by undoing every thing as fast as it is done, by breaking our Parliaments, by letting the Sword above our ancient Birth-rights? is this your Providence for us? *Gratuity, Horse.*

But say, what did you get by breaking this Parliament before? but subject your selves to the pleasure of your General, who turned — our all be pleased, that would not be his *Familiares*: And after Six years were forced to call them back again with shame enough. And now you have broken them again, what will you be gainers? Whoever gets the power, and not by right, will make us Slaves, and you too; insinuations and fair pretences must be used to Trepan you at first; but they that are fithful among you will be known, and weeded out, as soon as the businesse is effected; honest men may be instrumental to set up a Tyrant, but are not fit instruments to keep them up; nay, honest men shall be so sure to be rooted out, that it is among their Politricks, to remove all that have been the Instruments of their Advancement, least they should presume that their good Services had for ever obliged their Master, or Masters, and so should not be so wholly as their devotion as others that they should gratifie with their places; who were more bound to deserve that, which they received without any merit. Are the pretences fairer now then before? No, there is not half that pretence that was on old Oliver's side. Can you not see through them? No single Person, no by no means; we abominate the thoughts of that: What then? No body knows, unless something that is a thousand times worse, *Three, Ten, Thirty,* or it may be *Seventy Tyrants* for a while, till some one can get above the rest. The Second General Officer is an unlucky place; it was Lieutenant General Cromwell once, and then he was a Saint, a precious Saint, could preach, and pray, and promise strange matters; then

it was — *Is thy servant a dog, that he should do so and so? what, be Protector, be King, rule by my meer Will, no by Gods grace I will never do it.*

But case Fleetwood will not act as General, nor grant Commissions to them that have none, then the Parliament Voted out, and those that shall be brought into the place of those honest Commanders that did their part for the Parliament, *the Salt of the Army*, who being put out (as certainly that will be their fate, if the weather clear towards the North) *the Army will sink in the noses of all Europe*. I say, if Fleetwood will not, I hope somebody else will; What's next then, why not a King? one King, or another King; and then what is the benefit? *Richard Lord Protector is laid aside, and King JOHN the Second comes up in his place*: At first it may be a senate, but then something for the honour of England, a *Duke of Venice Elective*; Election will do the work to get into the Throne, but when once up, it must be theirs and their heirs for ever; if it be not made *hereditary*, I'll warrant you they know whom to nominate their Successour; for it will not be prudence to leave that matter undetermined and go out of the world, lest these Disciples should fall together by the ears about this question, *Who should be greatest*. If you will not believe your own experience, who can help it? I hope by this time your Commander in Chief may make bold to put in and pull out who he please; out with an *Overton*, a *Rich*, a *Harvison*, and in with my Son *Falkenbridge*, my Cousin *Lockhart*, and the rest of his *Well affected Kindred*; and I shall not pity you a jot.

But if it should hap to *Lamberts* chance to be *Dominus sive totum*, I hope those thorough-paced *Protectorians* who laughed so heartily when his Lordship was turned out of service by the *Old Protector*, some of whom told me, when I complained of my Lord Protectors carriage to him, *That it was no matter, never was any man less pitted or lamented after, he was all for himself, he hoped to be next Protector*; and because nominating the Successour was agreed of, *therefore he was discontented*. I say certainly these men will now be contented to yield their places to men that were better affected, and are the more endeared friends of his Lordship; Hitherto then, you have notably well projected for your selves, ye are strewd Politicians. What then, shall you govern the Nation your selves? a great purchase, a burden to any honest min, more than a benefit: How many of you are like to share in this if that were true? *two or three of your Grantees*, and there's your design: No, you hate the thought of this, we mistake the matter, and do you a great deal of wrong to suspect this. What then? *you shall be better paid*: that's well guessed in good sooth, how will you have it? *why one way or other,*

any how rather than fail, we will have it by foul means, if it will not come fairly. No no, you abuse us, nothing shall be gathered, but what is levied by the People in Parliaments; so far you are right, and if ever you see a Parliament in England that will take so much care of you as this Parliament hath taken, and was a taking for you, that will raise you 100000 l. per menssem, or 1000000 l. per menssem, as they have done for you, if you could have kept your selves honest: then spie in my face, and tell me I lie. No, 'tis this Parliament that must hazard their Reputations to pay your Arrears, and the Debts of the Nation, and then future Parliaments may be more easily perswaded to grant such a Tax as may keep us alwayes out of your Debt. What then, haist the Parliament Voted Nine of your Commanders out of their places? doth this anger you? and is this the bottom of the businessse, and is this all your design to be avenged of them, and the Nation for it? Goodly great ones! What are these men trow, that their particular concernments, to be kept in Pay and Command, should stand in competition with the Ruine of three Nations? an huge reach indeed! But pray, was it without good reason? could the Parliament do lesse? had not some of them promoted a General Being of the Northern Brigade, notwithstanding after the Parliaments dislike of it, and after the Petition and Representation of the Army was presented and debated in the House, which though it did not expressly require a GENERAL, yet did strongly imply it, and required some things of worse consequence.

I say, after this, these nine Grandees combined together in a Letter signed by them all, to engage the Subscriptions of a Regiment thereunto, which was produced in Parliament, and could have no other construction, but if the Parliament would not grant their Commands, they should be made to do it: which deserved a greater severity than being put out of their places. The like practice they also set on foot in divers other Regiments.

If this became faithfull servants, I wonder who are Masters? but for the honesty of the matter, they thus combined to effect, to instance only in one particular, No Officer must be displaced but by a Council of Officers. What is the mysterie of this iniquity? Why all must turn out that will be faithfull to the Interest of the Nation, and the Trust reposed in them, they would pack their Officers to their own minds; shuffle and cut both: Verily then, if they should petition in a peaceable way (as they call it) a priviledge not to be debarred the meanest Englishmen, I wonder what Supream Authority durst say them Nay: this is a thousand times worse providence, than to grant them a General, and to give him power to place and displace at pleasure; worse providence for the Nation I am sure: we might possibly find one honest man in England whom we might trust, if it could not other.

otherways be avoided, but how to make a whole Council of Officers honest, most of whom have sprouted up from no very generous principles, this is next of kin to an impossibility. What, a Corporation of the Army! What, the Army the Representative of England! Must your General (as of late) be the Archon, or Sole Legislator; your Council of Officers, our Senate; and your Small Officers, the People of England; out upon it, this is too bad in all conscience: why not a Corporation of the Navie too? as much reason every jot. What, the Supreme Authority of England, that pay you your Wages, that can put in and out at their pleasure (and it is reason they should) the Lords Keepers of the Great Seal: the Judges of the Land: the greatest Officers of State; yea, and besides whom, none can give you Commissions: but they are Rogues and Robbers, as bad as any High-way men, and worse, who take upon them to act, and have no Commission from them: it is the sale of some among you.

'Tis a Combination and a Conspiracy among you, to make a GENERAL, and give him Commission, and then he to give you Commissions, or to set up any number of men as Supreme: (but such as the good People of the Land chuse) and then to take Commissions from them; this is Idolatry, to fall down and worship the work of your own hands; and to cry *Aba! we are warmed, aba! we are warmed*. What not the Supreme Authority be able to remove a Lieutenant, an Ensign, a Sergeant, a Corporal, but by your leave, most Omnipotent Council of Officers!

'Tis true, it is dangerous trusting a General with this Power, he may turn all to his own Interest, which most commonly accords but little with that of the Nation, you have had wonderfull experience of this already; but the Parliament, whose Interest is the Interest of the Nation, and can be no other; that their Noses should come under the Girdle of an Army, Oh sad contrivance!

What, was it the Good Old Cause that the Parliament must have the Militia, and not the King? Was it then reason they should command the Sword, who carried the Purse, and carried the Interest of the Nation among them? and poor King must he suffer death for standing upon his terms with them? And now when the Parliament is by Your selves declared The Supreme Authority of England, now they must touch none of your Anointed, now they must not so much as remove one single Officer of your Army, but through the mediation of your grace and favour: Could the Parliament say Amen to this part of your Petition and Representation, and not betray the Nation and their Trust, and make themselves the scorn and hatred of the Nation, and future Parliaments? Yea, could they understand this private Combination, to force this unreasonable desire, and proceed with lesse tokens of their displeasure, and not give the Nation a jealousy that they would betray

betray them; And is this the reason why you hug these nine *Powder-plotters*, to effect this most horrid, hellish mischief. I can imagine nothing so like the truth of the Design, if there be any design in it as this; Well, should this be effected for you, *that you should give Law to England*, pray what will be the design of it? To what end I pray? to bewray your deep insight into the Affairs of State? to gain your selves Honour and Renown for your rare Conduct of the State: No, I fear *shame would be your promotion*; you would have little better successe than you have had; you may jout your *Fubbernawls* together long enough before you can hammer out a *Settlement* for us: Nobody thinks that saying true of you, *I am wiser than all my Teachers*. Where will be the design, if when you have run your selves out of Winde, and out of your Wits too, you shall be reduced to the like Exigency as of late, and be forced to bewail your Blindnesse and Apostacy again; I say, *what is become of the Design then?*

And it is not in reason to foresee how you can manage the Chariot of the State long, but all must run into disorder; your Sin, yea, and your Undertaking will be a burden, *a punishment greater than you can bear*: Very considerate men think you can hardly carry it a Moon, *Oh shallow, Oh incogitant, Oh pitifull, Oh foolish Army! who have bewitched you? you did run well, who hindered you? will you now altogether run in vain? will you lose the things you have wrought? will you sell the Righteous for nought? our Laws, Liberties, our Good Old Cause for less than a pair of shoes? Will you harm us, and do your selves no good? Oh peevish! oh wilfull! Are ye Chiltren? are ye Fools? are ye mad? Do you discover your Gallantry by grappling with Impossibilities? For shame, men, for shame give over. Oh but you mistake us all this while, our Design is to carry on the Refined Interest, the Spirit of the Cause.*

Good! good! is this the businesse? What is this new-thing-nothing you now make sport withall, a *Refined Interest, the Spirit of the Cause*; hard words, *what is the English on't?* I wonder whether Sir Henry Vane hath opened these abstruse terms to your understanding? you apprehend things more nimbly than it seems, than honest old English-spirited Sir Arthur Haselrig, that most highly deserving Patriot; I think it will be hard to understand the thing you drive at, by the terms you dresse it in; y^eu will teach us to speak *English* after a new cut; certainly such an Interest, was never till now praised a *Refined one*. The *Refined Interest*, saith Mr. Harrington, is that which carries so much reason in it, and so much the Interest of the Nation, that it being once understood, and we in possession of it, needs not a Mercenary Army to keep it up: Is your Interest refined in this notion you so much blisse your selves in? What course will you take for
the

the carrying on the Spirit of the Cause, the *Refined Interest* ; what, will you preserve our *Choice* inviolable? Shall that Power rule us, and you, that we choole so to do? No, this would hazard the *Refined Interest*, Ile warrant you. What then, shall all the old Friends of the Parliament, that are no more *Turn-coats* than your selves, and have served the State as well as your selves, shall these in every County, City and considerable Burrough, choose their Trustees for the Supream Authority? No, there hath been a great Apostasie and Back-sliding; honest men shall be chosen, who are true to the Cause; who are fit to be *Kings and Priests, and to reign for ever and ever*; such as have the Spirit, and these will know what Israel ought to do; and will make good Laws and Statutes, and execute Judgements in the Gate; these will hate the *Woore*, and burn her flesh with fire: Is this the *Refined Interest*? what such another *Gimcrack* as that little *Dungrel* thing that Voted it self a *Parliament*; any thing in the world that will keep our Faction in heart; that will carry on our Design, this is the *Refined Interest*; whether it be honest, or whether it be just, it matters not: many men extol that *Funto* to this day, though the very Constitution of it stinketh in the *Nosstrils* of every considerate man, as sending utterly to cheat us of our *Choice*.

And what do not men magnifie now adayes, that will but say as they say? Beslrew that Christian Policy that would ride over our Rights and Priviledges, under pretence of a *Refined Interest*. Those that will forget to be Men, will not long remember to be Christians.

They that will dash the Second Table of the Law to pieces, will hardly keep the First Table as they ought.

Will you rob us of our Rights, and kill us by *Famine and Decay of Trade*? Surely we must all be Souldiers ere long, and then we shall get a Vote among you.

Will ye kill, will you *steal*, and say, Ye are delivered to work all these *Abominations*? No, you are out all this while; we will be honestier than you think for; we will have *Parliaments* still, chosen by the People: But it cannot be safe for the *Godly*, unlesse we choose a select number of Faithfull men, Faithfull to the GOOD OLD CAUSE, that shall be a Check to the Parliament, an Influencing Senate, as Mr. *Stubs* hath it: who hath written a Book on purpose to prove Sir Henry Vane no *Fisuite*.

Sure Mr. *Stubs* did not finde this in Mr. *Harrington's* Modell, which he adquires, as if it were a pattern out of the Mount. No certainly, Mr. *Harrington* hath more Wisdom, and more Honesty: His Senate is only to give light; he doth not propound a Senate

to be the Interest of the Commonwealth, to secure the Honest Party; nor yet an Influencing Senate, to be chosen by a few men, that call themselves the Godly Party: But to be chosen by the People, as the Other House. These two Senates are as contrary as White to Black.

And if Mr. Harringtons Modell came out of the Mount, I wonder from whence, from what Manuscript this Library-keepers Noddle did bring out his. If there must be a Senate, surely none better; certainly none can be honest and just, but that which the People choose, as Mr. Harrington saith. Pray why should the Army choose? Are there not as Honest men as themselves in every part of the Nation? What! He warrant the major part is the worse part; therefore they must not be trusted, but the Council of Officers.

I wonder indeed, how the major part of the Council of Officers can take themselves to be honest, who first Declared against

A Single Person: Then routed the Parliament: Then set up a Mock-Parliament; then pulled it down: Then made their General Protector for life; then made him to beget a Protector: Then broke this Government: Then suffered the Parliament to sit again: Now have broke them again. What comes next? That which they will break again ere long. One can hardly give a worse Character of Men:

Meddle not with them that are given to Change.

And must these choose us an Influencing Senate? It is like to be well done. Well, and when all is done, carry on your *Refined Interest* as well as you can, your *Mock-Parliament*, or *Seventy Elders* would never agree, some would see further into Millions than others, and had a more Glorious Cause to carry on than the rest; and then this would be the *Refined Interest*; there would be no end till we fall all to Errant Popery: Yea, your Senate and your Parliament would agree like Cats and Dogs, they would never unite; where then is your Design?

Have you no Guts in your Brains? *Why do you rage, and imagine a vain thing?* As sure as you live, nothing but honest and righteous things will be a Foundation for us to bottom upon, if we mean

to stand against the Windes and Waves that are like to beat against our House.

He is no Designer now that will not be Honest; Nothing but Honesty, and a publick heart can carry us with credit and safety through these Discriminating times. Never were such dayes of Trial in England: They may go to School again that have Machiavil by heart: there hath been and is another Game going in England, then these Gamesters are aware of. He must have been purely honest, and not much pre-possessed, that hath not gravelled himself in these last twenty years. Ye have many Flatterers, but few real Friends.

Glad my heart, and do Righteous things, you that are Honest: Ye cannot wise your mouth, and say, *What evil have we done now?* Ye cannot have such a Face of Brasse; such a Whores Forehead: Repent, repent: Deny us not our just Rights; let Righteousness take place: So shall you repair the Breach you have made upon us; so shall we be established; for God establisheth the Just. And let us by no means talk deceitfully for God.

To say no more, It is the most ruinous, the most dangerous and destructive action that ever was taken to task. Parliament broken, the Nation unsettled, Friends discontented, no body but blames you, Lawes and Liberties, all a going; the Sword Rampant, the Nation undone, your Enemies more numerous and mighty; the Common Interest of the Nation in jeopardy; your GOOD OLD CAUSE at stake; nay, your own Throats ready to be cut; as if you were going like an Ox to the Slaughter, or a Fool to the correction of the Stocks; like a Bird snared in an evill Net, like a Bird that basketh to the Net, and knoweth not that it is for his life: What say Friends and Foes;

• *The Army would not referre the Nation unto the care of this Parliament, that were, as one should say, Flesh of their Flesh, and Bone of their Bone: surely no Parliament will ever do good upon them since this could not: If any other Parliament crosse them, then they must turn out for Malignants: With this word in their ears, What shall we be Governed by them we conquered but the other day? are there no English spirits in the Nation?*

What can you expect, but a generall Revolt of the People? and that all the Nation should be in Bloud: Surely it is as good

for us to die as to live the Slaves of our Servants, most of whom our purses have raised from the dunghil.

Sir *George Booth* is an inconsiderable Trayter now; you may be ashamed to sequester his Estate, who did but endeavour to do what you have done; and had more to say for himself ten to one than you.

Every thing looks black about us at home, and abroad; Neighbours at home ready to cut our throats, and yours too; at this very instant you have disoblighd your friends, and yet foraign Nations threaten us hard: It is in every bodies mouth, and I doubt tis too true, *Ambassadors are coming to offer us CHARLES STUART upon Terms; if we will not, then they will bring him in by Force*: if this be so, Lord have mercy upon us: here are thousands in England would rather the Turke should come in, then things should be as they are: and you have broken the hearts of your best friends, who will have small courage to assist you in keeping out our COMMON ENEMY, since when it is done, we might be sure to return to our former slavery.

France and Spain look at us untowardly, others besides would put to their helping hand to Ruine us; for all whom we should not have cared Three skips of a Louse, if you had not disturbed our SETTLEMENT, we should have been formidable to all EUROPE, yea, to the WORLD, as the Author of that Book,

—France no friend to England—

hath put his Christian Majesty in minde of.

This is the kindness you have done for your selves and us, whereby you have made us careless of our own and of your safety; wherefore let me speak to you in the words of *Isaiah*.

— Now therefore arise, go forth, and speak comfortable words to your Servants; for I swear by the Lord, if you go not forth, there will not tarry with thee one this night (when this night of trouble comes upon you, which hastens apace, our Sun being almost set) and this will be worse unto you then all the evil hath befallen you untill now.

I am

I am not humourfom, nor have I fo much intereft going in this Parliament as fome of your felves, ten of them do not know me I am certain; if you could call another Parliament fairly, whom you could and would refer your felves unto, I fhould be filent, and glad that the falvation of the Nation might come that way; and fo I dare fay would moft of that Parliament you have now fhut out.

But I doubt, yea, I am confident this will not be, Can there be a Parliament fairly chofen, that fhall fo much be concerned to fecure what we have been contending for hitherto? *They cut off the Kings head: they Voted down Monarchy, and the Houfe of Lords; they fet up the Commonwealth; they are concerned to venture their credits to get you money:* do you think they are not moft concerned to keep up what they have fet up? another Parliament would ftain at a Gnat, and think it a Camel if they fhould swallow an Act for 40000 l. per annum; thefe men, as far as I can fee, muft do the drudgery, and make way for another Parliament, by putting all out of debt, and putting things into a Method for a new Election, and then things may go on hanfomely; elfe I fear it much, I fee no Settlement.

All look with a fad face, the clouds threaten us from every quarter of Heaven; the Ship of the Common-wealth is now launched out into the Ocean of Confufion, and it is greatly to be feared, the Voyage will be with hurt, and much damage not only of the Lading and Ship, but alfo of our lives, however the Mafters of our Ship hath perfwaded us that the Haven wherein we were was not convenient to Winter in, and have hoifted fail intending to run a desperate courfe, and the wind now blowing foftly they fuppofe they have obtained their purpofe: but I doubt me it will not be long, ere there arife againft it a tempeftuous wind, an *Eureclidon*, which will catch the Ship, that they cannot bear up in the Wind, but muft let her drive, when if they can come by the Boat, and ufe helps for undergirding the Ship, tis well, they may ftrike fale, and be driven for fear of the quick-fands, and to day light the Ship of the Goods, and to morrow caft overboard the Tackling of the Ship with their own hands.

Verily now there is no fmall tempeft to lyes on us, and neither Sun nor Moon hath appeared for thefe many dayes, but all hopes that we fhall be faved is well nigh taken away: we founded Wednesday, and found it twenty fathoms, Thursday, and found it fifteen fathoms, and in great fears we are of falling upon the Rocks, though but the other day we deemed that we drew nigh to fome Country,

Countrey, to some Settlement; however our Ship-men discovering a certain Creek, that they knew not what Countrey it is, minded to thrust in the Ship, but are fallen where two Seas meet, and the Ship is run aground, that it sticks fast; and great fears there are all will be broken to pieces and all lost: those Mariners that but now managed the Ship are almost gone, but call them back by all means, you might indeed have hearkened to your friends, and not have loosed from *Creet* (from *Westminster*) and so have gained this harme and losse; but put all again into their hands that are your best Guardians, they will by the blessing of God bring off the Ship safely; I dare warrant there shall be no losse of the Ship, not of any mans life among you; *Howbeit*, as *Paul* said to the *Centurian*, and to the *Souldiers*, I am confident I may say so, — *Except these men abide in the Ship (for a while) ye cannot be saved.*

F I N I S.
